California Journal

The Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics

December 1980/$1.75

Ronald Reagan in

GOV. HOLLYWOOD goes to WASHINGTON

A Moral Majority Production
Directed by ED MEESE
Co-starring NANCY DAVIS as Martha
Rehearsed in Sacramento

Script by LYN NOFZIGER
Choreographed by RON JR.
Music by PAT BOONE
Understudy: MIKE CURB

Complete election returns and analysis

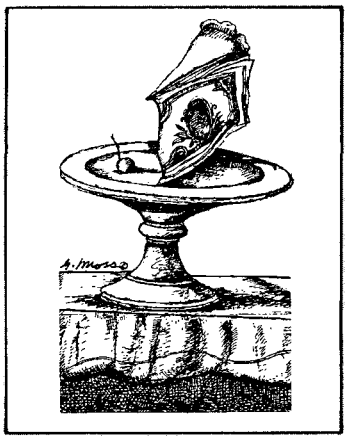
Special section: Guide to Democratic fund raising

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Personal
PERSPECTIVE

By Ed Salzman

The victims of 13



The budget brains in Sacramento are crying wolf again about the state's fiscal prospects for next year. In the past, these forecasts were not to be heeded. The state has traditionally underestimated income and overestimated expenditures. But this cry should be taken seriously. The state's massive surplus is about to disappear and Governor Brown will finally have to cope with the consequences of Proposition 13. No longer will there be enough money to bail out local government and keep state operations flowing at their normal pace.

What will be cut back? Will public employees be forced to absorb one year's inflation without any pay raise? Will cities, counties, schools and special districts be told to get along with less? Will welfare recipients and health providers be the victims of the Jarvis-Gann time bomb?

Already, those who could come out of the 1981 session of the Legislature without a full set of clothes are preparing for the monumental struggle. Those very elements of California society which fought side by side against Proposition 9 now find themselves battling each other for available dollars. There are only two ways warfare can be avoided: First, the estimates could prove wrong again; the state may find some way to hold off the inevitable for one more budget year — an eventuality that seems possible. (A cutback of anticipated state spending of only three percent might hold the real decision off until 1982.) Secondly, the state could raise taxes and keep the same level of spending in terms of constant dollars.

Privately, those who deal with the big fiscal issues at the state and local level have an agenda all worked out. In essence, the plan calls for higher taxes on business. If the Legislature won't do it this year, the public employee organizations and local government will sponsor an initiative to reshape Proposition 13 to make business shoulder a larger share of the tax load and provide enough money to balance the budget for the next few years.

It is taken for granted that business advocates are strong enough to prevent the Legislature from placing an anti-industry measure on the ballot. So drafters are already at work on the initiative. The key element would be a split property-tax roll. Homeowners would not have their taxes increased. (In fact, some of the inequities in Proposition 13 might be eliminated, and the result could be reduced taxes for some.) Taxes on business property would be increased to reflect the fact that Proposition 13 has resulted in a shift in the tax burden from commercial and industrial parcels to residential parcels (in terms of the percentage of property taxes paid).

The California Taxpayers Association is already campaigning against the split roll, even though the initiative campaign is more than a year away. But won't a "no" vote be hard to sell if the electorate can prevent a cutback of state and local services without any direct increase in consumer taxes?

If the business interests in California want to avoid a split-roll initiative, they had better come up with a marketable alternative that allows the state to maintain its current level of aid to local government and to keep pace with inflation. Otherwise, it will be the state's corporations which will pay the price for ignoring the cry of the wolf.

California Journal

THE MONTHLY ANALYSIS
OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS
Volume XI, Number 12 December 1980

PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER
Thomas R. Hoeber

EDITOR
Ed Salzman

MANAGING EDITOR
Alice Nauman

ART DIRECTOR
Chris Van Overloop

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT:
Leo Rennert

CONTRIBUTING ARTISTS:
Grace Mateu, Paul Duginski, Carl Muecke

CIRCULATION MANAGER:
Barbara Aguirre

STAFF: Hope Tuttle, Sandi M. Wolff, Trish Bailey

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970 and published monthly by the California Center for Research and Education in Government, a non-profit, tax-exempt corporation. Indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank and California Periodicals Index.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

EUGENE C. LEE, Chairman, director of the Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley.
LOU CANNON, western bureau chief, *Washington Post*, Los Angeles.
JUDSON CLARK, California Research, Sacramento.
THOMAS R. HOEBER, publisher, *California Journal*, Sacramento.
HAROLD KEITH, investments, Beverly Hills.
ROSELLEN KERSHAW, past president, California Division, American Association of University Women, Fresno.
ED LAMMERDING, chief executive officer, Capitol Bank of Commerce, Sacramento.
DONALD G. LIVINGSTON, vice president, Carter Hawley Hale Stores, Inc., Los Angeles.
EDWIN MEESE III, attorney, La Mesa.
YOLANDA NAVA, news reporter, KXTV Channel 10, Sacramento.
VERNE ORR, partner, Orr Enterprises, Pasadena.
MARCEL B. POCHÉ, justice, First District Court of Appeal, San Francisco.
MADELEINE H. RUSSELL, former Democratic national committeewoman, San Francisco.
VAINO SPENCER, justice, Second District Court of Appeal, Los Angeles.

COUNSEL: Conrad Lee Klein.
AUDITORS: Arthur Young & Company.

Subscription rates: Libraries and Governmental Agencies, $30; Corporations and Associations, $50; Special Individual Rate, $18. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1617 10th St., Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840.

Copyright 1980 by the California Center for Research and Education in Government.

Second class postage paid at Sacramento.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jack Ford, son of Gerald, is making noises and moves in San Diego as though he plans to run for the Assembly in 1982. Presumably, he would run in a new district or against an incumbent Democrat.

A phony press release was distributed on the No on Proposition 10 (smoking) letterhead. Among other things, it announced that the election-night party would be held in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. And chairman Morris Phillips reported that the no-on-10 committee "has chartered a four-seat Beechcraft to fly all grassroots volunteer workers to the party."

Doug Carter, the former Stockton assemblyman who is leading an initiative campaign to split California into two states, reports that he is having trouble with his plan because "nobody wants Berkeley or Los Angeles." Another Carter crack: "We're making J.R. Ewing governor of Southern California because they deserve each other."

Denny Valentine, staff chief of the County Supervisors Association, is about to present a Frank Mesplé Memorial Award to the best county lobbyist of the year. He'll make one friend and loads of enemies.

Back in 1958, then-state Senator Randolph Collier saw the change in the political winds and switched from Republican to Democrat. The "silver fox of the Siskiyous" now is back to being a Republican again.

Bill Campbell claims he has more than enough votes to retain his GOP Senate leadership post — and one of his backers is former Los Angeles police chief Ed Davis, who received financial help from Campbell's arch-rival, Bill Richardson.

California needs to do something to repair its image in the Far East. The *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper in Tokyo made this request of President-elect Ronald Reagan: "Don't employ California Mafia-type aides."

In case you were wondering: If Ronald Reagan had lost, the headline on this month's cover would have read: "Farewell to Ronnie after 14 years."

Table of CONTENTS

Comic relief: the California code 448

By Luana Luther

What to expect from Reagan 449

By Leo Rennert

The "amateur" politician from Hollywood may surprise some Washington insiders who have heard The Speech and believed it all.

Election post mortem, 1980 453

From the Assembly races to the presidential landslide, Ed Salzman assesses what the November results mean for California's future.

Special section: Democratic megabucks

Behind every well-known politician is a rank of well-connected fund-raisers who know where to go for campaign dollars. Melissa Moss offers a revealing guide to the Democratic Party's biggest donors in California.

Conrad of the *Times* 465

By David Ogul

Cartoonist Paul Conrad shares some of his favorite, recent drawings and talks about a favorite target: Ronald Reagan.

The uncovered campaign 468

By Tony Quinn

With few exceptions, the state's media muffed the political year by ignoring the important and overplaying the trivial.

Pete Wilson in the cul-de-sac 470

By George E. Condon Jr.

The San Diego mayor must convince Republican leaders statewide that he's more electable than Mike Curb in 1982.

Huey Johnson's tough question 472

By Kerry Drager

Governor Brown's resources secretary nearly lost his job for speaking too candidly about population limits.

Report cards for developers 475

By Mary Barnett

Cities moving down the growth-control road are finding new problems, but their voters don't want to turn back.

Strictly opinion ..... 478 Rostrum 454
Leo Rennert 479

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The California Code Amusement Park

By LUANA LUTHER

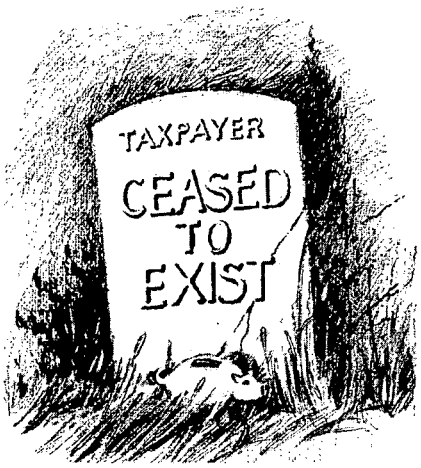
"Everything is deemed possible except that which is impossible in the nature of things."

That is Section 1597 of the Civil Code of the State of California, enacted in 1872. It seems to sum up the essence of truth.

However, legislators in those days may have failed to project what could be done with a well-turned word. I work with the codes every day and have discovered, over the years, that they are a wonderful source of amusement.

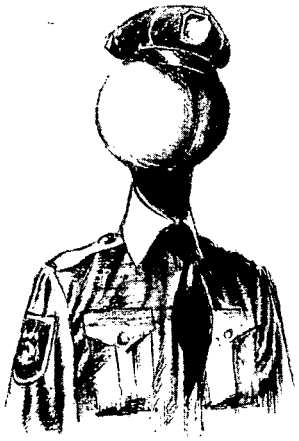
One of my favorite phrases is this: ***"To destroy means to destroy for purposes of destruction."*** Now, I suppose, there could be other reasons, but surely the government would not engage in wanton acts of destruction.

In the Penal Code I was aghast to find that ***"prior to blood donation the prisoner shall be given an examination with all clothes removed by a physician and surgeon . . ."***



The Penal Code furnishes other examples. A particularly lovely phrase describes murder as an act performed by an ***"abandoned and malignant heart."*** Ah, what has happened to poetry in the law?

"Prosecution for murder may be commenced at any time after the death of the person killed." Who said there is no justice? Why, we the people are quite willing to wait for the crime to be consummated before commencing prosecution.



Sprinkled liberally throughout sections dealing with law enforcement officials, I found ***"peach officer."*** The fuzz? Or possibly the job is considered the pits?

There is no refuting the logic found in this section: ***"Lawful resistance to the commission of a public offense may be made: 1. By the party about to be injured; 2. By other parties."***

" 'Fresh pursuit' includes close pursuit and hot pursuit." That is good to know, as a possible pursuee.

And for those looking for a better way, be careful, for did you know that a person can be guilty of ***". . . sexual bettery . . .?"***

In the Revenue and Taxation Code the public is finally given a break: ***"(I)f the taxpayer dies or ceases to exist . . ."***

The Government Code speaks of ***"town meetings and other spectacles"*** with an air of real knowledge.

This puzzler is also from the Government Code: ***"captain lifeguard and lieutenant rescue boat."*** The dynamic duo? Right here in River City?

From the Business and Professions Code I found a definition to ponder: ***" 'Club' also means any association of livestock . . ."*** I suppose that is what is meant by the herd instinct.

We are a generous state, for we share our wealth with ***"families with children of the same size."***

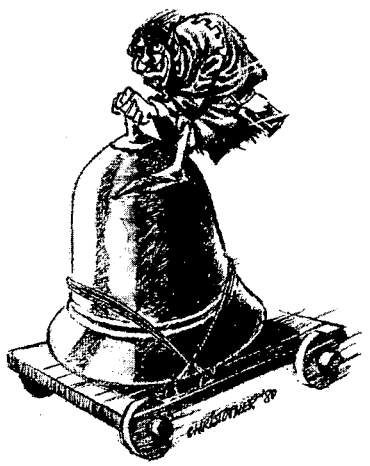
On the other hand, there is a ***"mental health prevention program"*** for those of us still stubbornly sane.

Is it possible that we allow a committee to ***"adopt a seal and alter it at will?"*** Where are you, SPCA?

Personal injury and property are not forgotten either: ***"Serious and permanent injury shall include only those injuries that are both serious and permanent." . . . " 'Renewal area' means any area of real property a substantial part of which is occupied by deteriorated, obsolete, substandard, unsafe or unsanitary structures or other improvements."*** No wonder our cities look the way they do.

Or how about this for beauty of language and clarity of thought: ***". . . or improvements thereto or replacements thereof, and the approaches to each end thereof, all lands and interest therein used therefor, and buildings and improvements thereon."***

In sections dealing with transportation, I found every form of ***"modal,"*** including, but not limited to, bimodal, trimodal, transmodal, even quasimodal — which, I have a hunch, should ring a bell.



So forget the best-seller list. Get yourself a set of the California Codes and — as the codes describe county lines — in a few ***"metes and bounds"*** you'll find yourself ***"up the north fork."***

Luana Luther is a Sacramento poet who earns her living as a state legal-code technician.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What to expect from the Reagan presidency

By LEO RENNERT

Just when you think that you've managed to figure out Ronald Reagan, you haven't. He may have spelled out his basic views of government in numerous versions of The Speech — his rallying cry for conservatism during the 1964 Goldwater campaign. He held the California governorship twice and ran three times for the White House. But to movers and shakers in the nation's capital, including many in his own party, Reagan essentially remains a big question mark.

Beyond the simple rhetoric, his commitment to specific policies and programs is not easily discernible. As he prepares to step into the Oval Office, Washington is immersed in trying to guess not just who the top players of the Reagan Administration will be but what kind of domestic and foreign blueprints the new president will unveil. There hasn't been so much fascination — and ignorance — about a new occupant of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue since another outsider burst into town four years ago.

There are, of course, plenty of cliches and conventional answers to the Reagan riddle. Many diehard critics reject the notion that the man actually may be more complex than his rhetoric. To his predecessor in Sacramento, former Governor Edmund G. Brown Sr., Reagan will always be a tool of business interests and a wrecker of social progress. Ralph Nader sees him as a modern version of Attila the Hun — "a cruel man with an amiable smile." Four years ago, Gerald Ford said Reagan couldn't be trusted with the nuclear button. And we all still remember what Carter thought of him.

But cardboard characterizations never fully explained Reagan's gubernatorial record. And glib formulas fall short of the mark when it comes to assessing the directions of his presidency. It's all very well and good to tag him as a conservative or a right-winger; but where's the rest of him?

Perhaps the most important clue in a search for the "real" Reagan or the "new" Reagan is his steady tilt toward the center of the political spectrum since he nailed down the GOP nomination. He may have been a conservative firebrand in his relentless march toward control of the party. But as soon as he prevailed over his Republican adversaries — new and old — he began shaping a broader coalition and a new political consensus. Reagan made his peace with the Ford wing of the party in surprisingly quick fashion. And it wasn't just a temporary patch-up job. He outraged true believers on the right by picking George Bush, the darling of the Eastern Establishment, as his running mate. He went on to scandalize some conservatives even more when he signaled that Bush will be a figure of major authority and influence in the new administration.

Broadening the base

There have been other telltale signs of a pronounced Reagan shift away from conservative orthodoxy. While expressing general agreement with the party's hard-line platform, Reagan nimbly sidestepped some of its sharp edges. Although the official GOP line calls for American "military superiority" over the Soviet Union, the Republican standard-bearer quickly dropped the phrase in favor of a more ambiguous and elastic formula — restoration of a "margin of safety" in overall military strength. On the domestic scene, Reagan echoed the platform's opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, but he startled the amendment's most vociferous opponents by appointing a women's advisory committee with a pro-ERA cast.

As he moved to broaden his base during the campaign, Reagan dropped his opposition to federal aid to New York City and the Chrysler bailout. He promised to keep the Occupational Safety and Health Administration — an agency strongly supported by organized labor but thoroughly detested by business groups and the New Right. No sooner had the ballots been counted than Reagan softened his pledge to abolish two fairly new cabinet departments — Energy and Education. Texas oilmen who counted on a quick Reagan push to abolish the windfall oil-profits tax were told to be patient.

Whether these moves portend a significant or permanent turn away from the right remains to be seen. Some shifts undoubtedly were dictated by short-term political considerations. At times, there was a distinct smell of rank opportunism and even double-cross. For example, Reagan assured trucking operators and the Teamsters that he would adopt a go-slow position in deregulating the trucking industry. Here was the champion of free enterprise and the marketplace actually telling one of the most protected sectors of the economy that they could count on him to stave off the menace of competition! At the same time, Reagan passed the word to farmers concerned about high freight rates that he was fully committed to prompt deregulation and lower shipping costs. Smart politics? Perhaps. But it certainly wasn't an example of the kind of 100 percent pure politics the "old" Reagan so often promised on the chicken-and-peas circuit. Somewhere along the way, the carefully nurtured "amateur" politician had changed his spots and turned into a consummate, even Machiavellian, professional. Based on recent performance, the Reagan years are not going to be an innocent replay of Mr. Smith Goes to Washington.

Backing Baker

In clawing his way to the top of the GOP ladder, Reagan took a firm anti-compromise line. When he challenged Ford in 1976, the former Californian called Republicans to rebuild their party along narrow, ideological lines. His political palette included only bright, distinct colors; pastel shades were not allowed. If Republican moderates didn't like it, they could lump it — or take a walk.

Now, there are pastels galore on Reagan's political canvas. In one sense, the country made things easier for him by moving to the right. But in this historic coming-together, Reagan also took some giant strides toward the middle. Conservatives who expected a new Robert Taft may have to settle for a neo-Eisenhower Administration — not just in style but, to a considerable extent, in substance as well.

Leo Rennert is the chief Washington correspondent for the McClatchy Newspapers and a columnist for the Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The clearest tipoff of the president-elect's determination to veer toward the middle was his immediate and unequivocal endorsement of Tennessee's Howard Baker as the Senate's new majority leader. Baker, a moderate, is anathema to the conservative activists of the New Right. Even before the GOP captured control of the Senate, there were signs of an incipient revolt to topple him as party leader. He repeatedly was threatened with political excommunication for his support of the Panama Canal treaty and for his collaboration with the Democratic leadership in keeping much of the Senate's legislative calendar on a bipartisan track.

Immediately after the election, right-wing groups like the National Conservative Political Action Committee and the Committee for Survival of a Free Congress went after Baker's scalp. They figured Baker's tenuous hold on the leadership could be broken with the arrival of a big new crop of conservative GOP freshmen. But Reagan moved in just as quickly to quell any anti-Baker revolt. Through close friends in the Senate like Paul Laxalt of Nevada and John Warner of Virginia, the president-elect passed the word that he would not look kindly on any palace coup against Baker. The Tennessee senator may still be threatened down the road by the sharp rightward tilt in the composition of the GOP Caucus in the Senate. Leadership fights on Capitol Hill tend to be immune to outside pressures — including dictation from the White House. But the first round clearly went to Baker and, along the way, Reagan sent an important signal to the right wing that he intends to go his own way and will not be pushed around — even by some of his most fervent supporters.

Reagan may enjoy a longer-than-usual honeymoon with the country and with befuddled congressional Democrats, who will need some time to put their own act together. But his honeymoon with the Right Wing lasted just 24 hours. On the day after the election, spokesmen of the New Right called a press conference to warn Reagan of dire consequences if he doesn't toe the pure conservative line. They took special aim at the moderate "moles" in the party — Bush and Baker. Their threats and suspicions, however, only reinforced the impression that they're on the outside looking in, while Jerry Ford and the old Republican establishment has found a comfortable niche in the Reagan high-command. During the last four years, the Democratic Left often complained that it got a lot of rhetoric — but little else — from the White House during Jimmy Carter's spasmodic shifts to the right. Now, it may be the turn of the GOP Right to voice similar disappointment as Reagan moves to broaden his political base.

The new administration's relations with Capitol Hill are off to a businesslike start. Reagan appears determined to avoid many of the difficulties which bedeviled Carter, who somehow never managed to forge close ties with Congress. Unlike his predecessor, who was defensive and even mean-spirited in dealing with congressional Democrats, Reagan has gone out of his way to foster a spirit of teamwork. Congressional Republicans were given important roles in the campaign. Some, like New York Congressman Jack Kemp, moved into top-level positions as key advisers and policy-shapers.

One of the great ironies of the Reagan landslide is that it eliminated the old hobgoblin that he wouldn't be able to get his programs through an obstructionist Democratic Congress. Reagan himself was prepared to go over the heads of the legislators with fireside chats and other direct appeals to the country in order to clear the logjam. Last month's election returns have obliterated that scenario. In its relations with the White House, the 97th Congress may turn out to be a gentle pussycat.

Reagan will have not only a Republican Senate but a House that also will be inclined to give him the benefit of the doubt and to go along with many of his recommendations. Due to sizeable GOP gains, the lower chamber — while still nominally under Democratic control — will tilt increasingly to the right. Even before the election, there was plenty of evidence that many House Democrats were souring on liberalism and ready to embrace more conservative policies. Reagan's sweep and GOP victories in congressional contests are bound to reinforce and accelerate this trend. Democratic leaders also are prepared to work with the new president. House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., an old Boston pol, never quite hit it off with Carter. While there may be too many cultural differences for a street-smart Irish politician like "Tip" O'Neill to become a close buddy of Ronald Reagan, the speaker is sufficiently sensitive to basic shifts in public opinion to swim with the tide. House Majority Leader Jim Wright of Texas, who survived a strong GOP challenge in his own district, also is not spoiling for a fight with the Reagan White House.

In the Senate, Democratic Leader Robert Byrd of West Virginia has never been guilty of militant partisanship. Neither has the Senate's No. 2 Democrat — Alan Cranston of California. The stage thus is set for a minimum of friction between the executive and legislative branches — at least in the early going of the Reagan Administration. If anything, Democrats could prove more cooperative at the outset than some unreconstructed GOP conservatives — particularly if Reagan were to give his cabinet a bipartisan flavor.

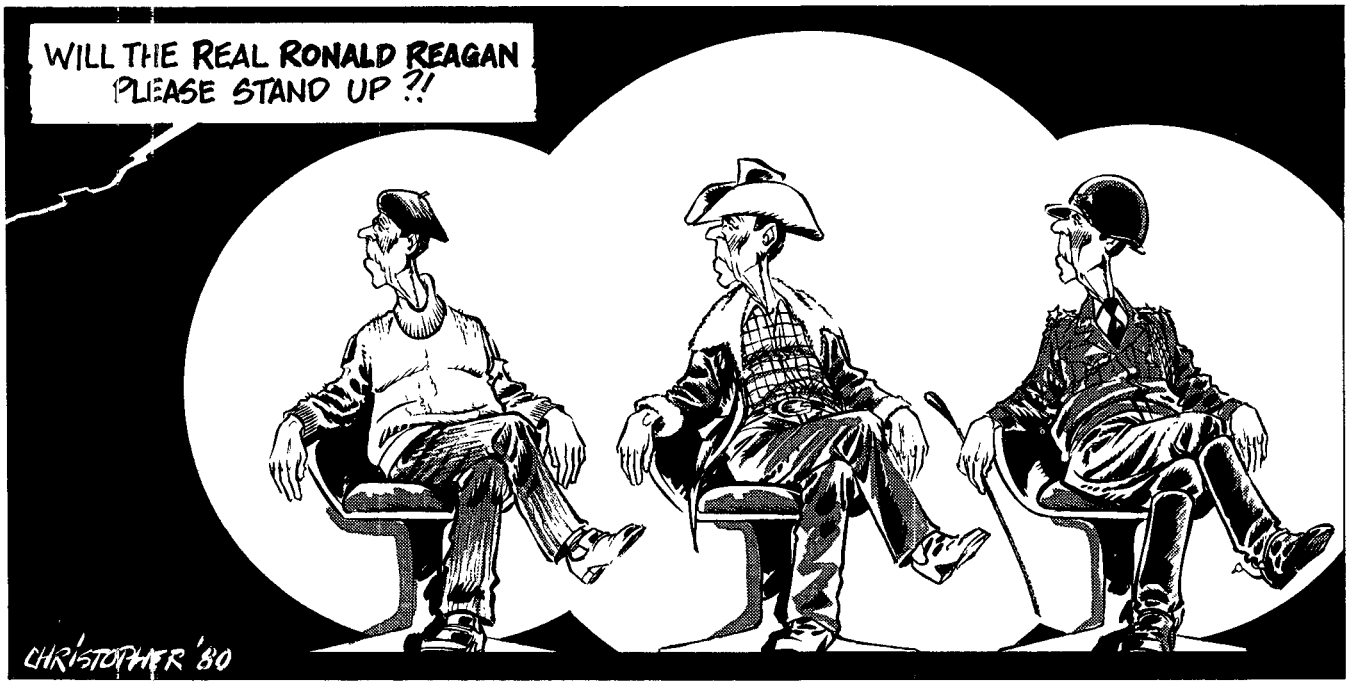
Battling economic woes

By his own admission, Reagan's No. 1 challenge will be to tackle a stagnant economy, which failed to respond to Carter's palliatives and assured his defeat. Reagan will take office at a time of high inflation, high interest and high unemployment. Despite the cheering in Wall Street, things could get even worse. Faced with the prospect of having to fight an economic war on multiple fronts, Reagan's advisers are by no means united on immediate tactics or long-term strategy. In fact, economic-policy battles in the Reagan inner councils could be long and bloody.

Basically, it shapes up as a fight between economic traditionalists, including many who worked in the Nixon and Ford administrations, and the new supply-side economists who favor more venturesome initiatives. The traditionalists prefer classic GOP remedies — tight money, sharp spending cuts and balanced budgets. To them, inflation remains the primary problem and they're ready to cure it even if it means saddling the patient with steadily rising unemployment. Arrayed against them are the new-breed economic whiz kids, who argue that the first order of business is to reinvigorate business with massive tax cuts. Their banner is the Kemp-Roth bill to slash taxes by 30 percent over a three-year period. Their ideological patron is none other than John F. Kennedy and his 1962 tax cut. It's the GOP's new version of the "free lunch" — painless economic growth and productivity gains through tax cuts. As the economy expands, government revenues will balloon. In time, the budget can be balanced — particularly if spending meanwhile is held in restraint. That, at least, is the new theory; whether it works out in practice — and to what extent Reagan is willing to embrace it — is another matter.

Until now, the president-elect has leaned strongly toward Kemp-Roth and the prescriptions of his younger economic advisers. In fact, during the campaign, he confessed that his only basic policy shift since 1976 was his conversion to what his running mate, George Bush, disparagingly referred to as "voodoo economics." As a result, Reagan has toned down his emphasis on balanced budgets and instead talks about "putting the country back to work." Economic stagnation and unemployment — not inflation — have become his primary targets. Of course, Reagan maintains that, by reinvigorat-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



ing the private sector and by trimming the public sector, inflation will get cured somewhere along the way. But that's a long-term objective; unfortunately, in economics, everything happens in the short run. In terms of immediate trade-offs, the former governor starts as an expansionist — not as a tighten-the-screws, old-fashioned fiscal conservative. He wants to play Santa Claus, not Scrooge.

Reagan's conversion to these new economic precepts played a key role in his successful effort to entice millions of blue-collar workers to abandon their historic attachment to the Democratic Party and rally around his banner. Politically, it will not be easy to make a 180-degree turn and revert to conventional economic doctrines that could produce more layoffs — even if Reagan were so inclined. His current instincts are with an expansion-first agenda. There are some very personal reasons for this. Reagan remains a child of the Depression. He still talks emotionally about his father confronting the family with a layoff slip on Christmas Eve. "I'm a soft touch," he recently remarked in explaining his readiness to deviate from staunch conservative theory.

Reagan thus starts paradoxically with economic policies more suited to tackling a recession than double-digit inflation. That's not exactly what one might have expected from the new standard-bearer of the Grand Old Party. Jimmy Carter promised to end budget deficits in four years. Reagan has put off balancing the budget until 1983. In economic policy-making, he may enjoy only a brief honeymoon with the independent Federal Reserve Board. To the extent that he pushes hard for economic growth with fiscal-stimulus moves, including short-term budget deficits, the Fed may feel isolated in the fight against inflation and respond by tightening the monetary screws. Any such deflation policy by the Fed would collide directly with Reagan's efforts to stimulate business and put people back to work.

Whatever happens on the economic front, it's doubtful that Reagan will take rigid or doctrinaire stands for very long. He often has been compared with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. But the parallel is inaccurate. In her all-out fight to stem inflation, Thatcher doggedly has pursued restrictive policies which have boosted unemployment in Britain to postwar highs. She has refused to change her bitter medicine — even when London's financial circles began crying for relief. It's quite unlikely that Reagan would show similar tenacity in the face of worsening economic conditions. He's more of a pragmatist, willing to pursue an eclectic course and ready to change direction if a particular policy doesn't pay off.

A clean slate abroad

On the international scene, Reagan will inherit highly volatile conflicts around the Persian Gulf. However, whether the hostage crisis has been resolved or not by January 20th, his transcendent challenge will be to fashion a new relationship with the Soviet Union. That means finding a way to negotiate a new strategic arms-limitation agreement. In this area, as in so many others, the Reagan years could produce unexpected, and highly ironic, results. Reagan has an opportunity to accomplish what Carter could't pull off — ratification of a new SALT treaty.

Even before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Carter didn't have the necessary two-thirds margin in the Senate for approval of SALT II. The sharp rightward tilt in the new Senate merely drove another nail into that diplomatic coffin. Had Carter been re-elected and then persisted in pushing SALT to a final vote, he would have invited the worst foreign-policy drubbing administered to a president since the Senate turned down Woodrow Wilson's call for American participation in the League of Nations. A flat Senate rejection of SALT could have triggered tragic consequences of global dimensions — with both superpowers pursuing a totally unchecked nuclear arms race.

Reagan starts with a clean slate. He already has announced his decision to scrap SALT II and to seek terms more favorable to the U.S. The Kremlin's initial response has been a realistic acknowledgment of the results of the American elections and an expressed willingness to get back to the negotiating table. There may be some huffing and puffing on both sides for a while. Reagan won't have an easy time selling the Russians on the idea of proceeding to a SALT III treaty that would assure fairly sizeable mutual reductions in nuclear arsenals. Moscow still feels too threatened by China to drop much of its nuclear guard. Reagan also is bound to run into great resistance from the Kremlin in his attempts to "link" other aspects of U.S.-Soviet relations, including Russian adventurism in the Third World, to progress on SALT. It's very well for Reagan to say he believes in "link-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

age;" Moscow clearly doesn't. But whatever the obstacles, Reagan has a fair chance of emerging in a year or two with a renegotiated SALT treaty that he could sell to the Senate. It might be SALT II with a few cosmetic and substantive alterations — SALT II .5 rather than a sweeping new SALT III. Whatever the treaty's ultimate shape, only Reagan will have sufficient political clout to get the necessary 67 votes from a Senate that definitely will be more hawkish. Just as it took a certified anti-Communist like Richard Nixon to open relations with mainland China, it may take an avowed hardliner like Reagan to keep the SALT II process going.

Reagan also is determined to shift direction in relations with Asia, Africa and Latin America. He will be more tolerant of authoritarian regimes of the right and more reluctant to befriend radical or revolutionary groups. He has grave reservations about Carter's "human rights" policies in the Third World. Like Jerry Brown, he has pushed the idea of forging closer ties with Mexico and Canada. So far, however, he has provided few specifics to flesh out this policy.

The California Mafia

In wrestling with all these problems — foreign and domestic — Reagan will bring to Washington a top-level team with many California faces. There's already considerable talk that Jimmy Carter's Georgia Mafia is about to be replaced by Reagan's California Mafia. That may be too simplistic a view. There are important differences in how these two former governors tapped home-state talent in shaping their national administrations. Carter used his Georgians to circle the wagons around the White House and to keep his distance from the Eastern Establishment. Like Carter himself, many members of his inner circle had scant experience in national government and distrusted people who did.

In contrast, Reagan arrives in Washington after a far longer immersion in national affairs. California also happens to be a much more diverse state than Georgia. Unlike Carter's Georgians, many Californians in the Reagan entourage have extensive national contacts; some served in top jobs in the Nixon and Ford administrations. Reagan also appears to have less compunction in recruiting talent from other states.

Still, the stage is set for many Californians to play dominant roles in the new administration. Scholars from the Hoover Institution, Stanford University's conservative think-tank, are likely to fill several policy slots. Whatever their actual assignments may turn out to be, some of the top Californians will include:

- **Ed Meese,** the odds-on favorite for a major White House post. A former Alameda County deputy district attorney, Meese was Reagan's top aide in Sacramento and played a central role in this year's campaign.
- **Michael Deaver,** a key political operative in several Reagan campaigns and one of his closest confidants.
- **Martin Anderson,** a former member of the Hoover Institution staff who wields major influence in the shaping of domestic policy.
- **Richard V. Allen,** another Hoover alumnus, who moved in and out of the campaign as Reagan's top foreign policy adviser. Charges by the *Wall Street Journal* that he used his inside position in previous GOP administrations for personal profit could sideline him to a less visible post. Reagan has dismissed the charges against Allen as baseless.
- **Thomas Sowell,** a black economist from UCLA and the Hoover Institution, who may play an important role in developing domestic programs.
- **George Shultz,** president of the Bechtel Corporation in San Francisco, who held several Cabinet-level jobs in the Nixon Administration. He has been rated a strong contender for secretary of state.
- **Caspar Weinberger,** Reagan's state finance director in Sacramento and Nixon's principal axe-wielder against domestic social programs. Known as "Cap the Knife," Weinberger had some differences with his boss during Reagan's years as governor; he wanted to cut more deeply than Reagan. He is now said to be more moderate.
- **Justin Dart** and **Holmes Tuttle,** two prominent Southern California businessmen who helped turn Reagan the actor into Reagan the politician. As members of his original "kitchen cabinet," they may not get any formal positions but will continue to wield influence as behind-the-scenes advisers.
- **Nancy Reagan,** the new First Lady. Her clout, while difficult to discern, is considerable — a clear match for the strong role played by Rosalynn Carter.

The easy way to solve those holiday gift problems

Give books from the California Journal Press

You may be surprised how easy and economical it can be to eliminate those holiday-gift woes by sending books from the California Journal *to your relatives and friends. Make your selection from these educational and informative offerings:*

A great gift that entertains as it informs: **The Cartoon History of California Politics,** by Ed Salzman and Ann Leigh Brown, a 156-page book containing more than 100 drawings illustrating California's fascinating political history. Price: **$5.25.**

A thoughtful analysis of contemporary problems in the press: **Reporting: An Inside View,** by Lou Cannon, a 320-page book by the *Journal's* long-time Washington columnist. Hardback, **$10.55;** softbound, **$5.25.**

The basic reference book: **Almanac of State Politics and Government,** compiled by Ed Salzman, 1979 - 80 edition, 192 pages, **$4.19.**

The whole Brown catalog: **Jerry Brown: High Priest and Low Politician,** by Ed Salzman, with cartoons and photos. Price **$3.13.**

All prices include tax. Send checks (or Visa or MasterCard numbers) to California Journal Press, 1617 10th St., Sacramento 95814. A convenient tear-out order card is available inside this magazine.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Election post mortem

Clear victory for Berman over McCarthy
Surprising defeat of Rodda, Van Deerlin
Out go Democratic House veterans

By ED SALZMAN

How ironic that in the year that saw a Californian, Ronald Reagan, elected president, the state's voters were virtually irrelevant in the political process. Both Reagan and Jimmy Carter had locked up the presidential nominations by the time the primary train arrived in California. And on election day, November 4th, Californians were told that Reagan was a landslide winner long before the polls were even closed. As a result, many Californians — perhaps as many as half a million — were deterred from walking or driving to the polls. The impact is difficult to assess, but it can be assumed that Democratic candidates were the prime victims of the three-hour time differential between the coasts. Had the turnout been only a bit higher, some Democratic candidates who lost by small margins might have won.

Secretary of State March Fong Eu immediately called for the institution of uniform election hours across the country. But is that practical, especailly when Hawaii is taken into consideration? In another year, the late voting by Californians could work just the other way. Californians might learn during the early evening that the entire presidential election turned on the state's electoral votes. In that event, wouldn't the voting booths be extraordinarily busy during the final hour" Wouldn't the turnout total be just as artificial — although admittedly in the direction of greater participation — under those conditions?

This year's early reporting of the presidential outcome probably contributed to a rather bizarre voting pattern in the state. Californians have a tradition of splitting ballots, but this year's outcome was even more inconsistent than usual. Party loyalty apparently meant little. While Reagan was demolishing Carter, Democrat Alan Cranston polished off Paul Gann with ease. Cranston was one of the few Democratic liberals to survive the national trend to the conservative side. This was a year in which money flowed at a record rate. Individual campaigns overshadowed party effort. The biggest battle in the state was between the rival speakership forces of Democrats Leo McCarthy and Howard Berman. Some of the campaign literature was extraordinarily nasty. Among legislative leaders, the losers were McCarthy and Senate Republican leader Bill Campbell. Berman and conservative Senator H. L. (Bill) Richardson showed surprising strength.

Two veteran Democratic incumbents who were not believed especially vulnerable went down to defeat. State Senator Albert Rodda of Sacramento, one of the most respected members of the Legislature, was blindsided by John Doolittle, a Richardson associate. In a lesser shocker, Congressman Lionel Van Deerlin of San Diego was upset by attorney Duncan Hunter.

Although there was a decided conservative trend in the voting, it was not sufficiently strong to allow the Republicans to capture either house of the Legislature or the congressional delegation (although the Democrats now hold only a 22-21 margin in the delegation). The conservative trend was especially apparent in some local elections. In Los Angeles, Supervisors Yvonne Burke and Baxter Ward were unseated by Deane Dana and Mike Antonovich, significantly changing the complexion of the board. In San Francisco, the forces for citywide rather than district elections won an apparently conclusive victory, and conservative Democrat Quentin Kopp topped the list of victors.

And this was a dull election year in California. Now the political life of the state should start getting interesting, with the wide-open 1982 election season about to begin.

PRESIDENT: Only three for Carter

On the surface, it might appear that the polls missed the presidential election in California by a mile. In fact, Carter had just about the amount of strength forecast in the polls. But Reagan apparently captured almost all the undecided vote. And that's why Reagan won by 1.4 million votes in California rather than the much smaller margin that had been indicated by the pollsters.

The Reagan victory proves, among other things, that the American system works. When a party is out of ideas and has failed to solve major problems, it is supposed to be replaced by the opposition party. The public didn't buy Jimmy Carter's claim that the past four years constituted on-the-job training and that now he was fit to become a good president.

Only three California counties — the liberal strongholds of Alameda, San Francisco and Yolo — gave Carter more votes than the president-elect. (San Francisco was the only county to give Carter more than 50 percent of the vote.) John Anderson did not prove a major factor in the state. Had all his votes gone to Carter, the election still would not have been close. The three minor-party candidates posted unimpressive totals. Libertarian Ed Clark won far fewer votes this year than he did in 1978 when running for governor.

Perhaps the best indicator of future success for the Republicans was the huge vote margin rolled up by Reagan (and other GOP candidates) in Orange and San Diego counties, the areas entitled to the most new seats when the Legislature redraws congressional, Senate and Assembly districts next year. Carter polled only a measly 23 percent of the Orange vote and did only 4 percent better in San Diego.

Reagan (R)	**4,444,044**	**(53%)**
Carter (D)	3,039,532	(36%)
Anderson (I)	727,655	(9%)
Clark (L)	146,716	(2%)
Commoner (I)	60,059	(1%)
Smith (P&F)	17,797	
Rarick (AIP)	9,687	

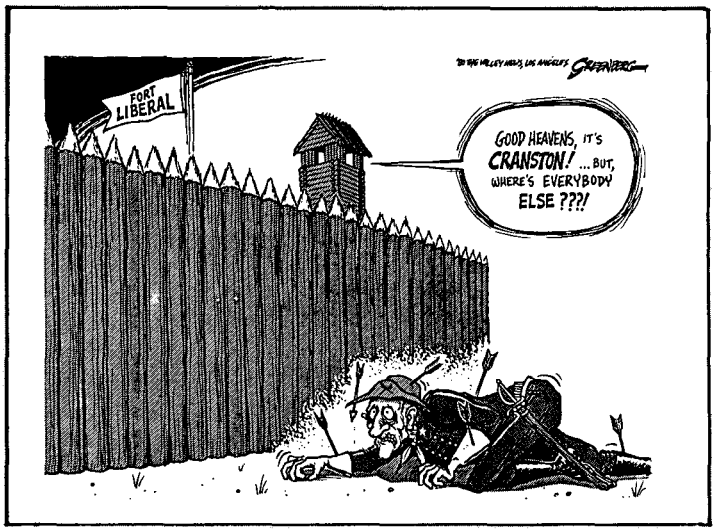
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

U.S. SENATE

Across the nation, liberal Democratic senators were led to the altar of sacrifice by the Moral Majority and friends. In California, Democrat Alan Cranston won a third term by more than 1.5 million votes, defeating Paul Gann by an even larger margin than Ronald Reagan carried the state. No other California Democrat has ever won three Senate terms.

Could Cranston have been defeated by a better Republican candidate? That's impossible to answer, but the GOP could hardly have picked a weaker nominee than Gann. In addition, Cranston had moderated his image and had built alliances within the ranks of traditional Republican supporters. The Moral Majority didn't have the same kind of support in California it was able to develop in such states as Iowa, South Dakota and Indiana. And the conservative trend wasn't nearly as strong in California, with its relatively potent economy, as it was in the rest of the country.

Despite the winning margin, Cranston came out of the election a loser. Because the GOP took control of the Senate, he will no longer hold the second most powerful post in the body and will lose his committee and subcommittee chairmanships.



Cranston (Inc. D)	**4,636,714**	**(57%)**
Gann (R)	3,036,488	(38%)
Bergland (L)	199,731	(2%)
Wald (P&F)	193,026	(2%)
Griffin (AIP)	127,930	(2%)

PROPOSITIONS: Light 'em up

It is an axiom of political science that money can buy negative votes on ballot propositions but not positive votes. That axiom was proved correct by the defeat of Proposition 10, which was headed for passage until the tobacco companies launched a media blitz against the initiative.

The results of voting on the 11 statewide measures gives a clue to the schizophrenic character of the electorate this year. The voters said yes to bonds for general park use, but no to Lake Tahoe. They said no to the insurance companies but yes to the tobacco companies. They said no to two proposals to fiddle with Proposition 13 but yes to a third.

Proposition 1 ($285 million park bond issue)

For	**3,935,847**	**(52%)**
Against	3,674,051	(48%)

Proposition 2 ($85 million Lake Tahoe bond issue)

For	3,696,350	(49%)
Against	**3,874,824**	**(51%)**

Proposition 3 (insurance guarantee funds)

For	1,984,623	(28%)
Against	**5,168,931**	**(72%)**

Proposition 4 (general-obligation bonds)

For	1,781,685	(25%)
Against	**5,363,425**	**(75%)**

Proposition 5 (reassessment of property)

For	3,005,410	(42%)
Against	**4,102,987**	**(58%)**

Proposition 6 (jurors in civil cases)

For	**4,262,537**	**(58%)**
Against	3,150,055	(42%)

Proposition 7 (solar-energy taxation)

For	**4,670,865**	**(65%)**
Against	2,468,742	(35%)

Proposition 8 (water development and protection)

For	**3,858,157**	**(54%)**
Against	3,317,711	(46%)

Proposition 9 (drinking-water bond change)

For	**4,777,009**	**(64%)**
Against	2,646,869	(36%)

Proposition 10 (smoking and no-smoking initiative)

For	3,793,402	(47%)
Against	**4,370,241**	**(53%)**

Proposition 11 (salaries of judges)

For	**5,119,101**	**(70%)**
Against	2,170,382	(30%)

ROSTRUM

Rating game

I would like to make several clarifying comments regarding the publication of "The Rating Game" in your October issue.

After election in a special election, I took office on June 27, 1979. Therefore, I was not present in the Senate on a great number of votes apparently used in "The Rating Game" profiles. Those who compiled "The Rating Game" apparently recognized this for several groups, but failed to indicate in the article the fact of my taking office with half of the legislative session concluded.

"The Rating Game" indicated a 25 percent vote on behalf of PORAC. It is my understanding that 66 legislative measures were used to compile the record, 40 of which were acted upon in the Senate before I took office. It is obvious that a voting record percentage of 25 does not reflect accurately my voting record if any of the 40 measures were considered.

"The Rating Game" indicated my California Farm Bureau record at 30 percent. In discussions with the Farm Bureau, I am told my voting record is 100 percent and that I voted correctly by their standards in all measures presented to me while in the Senate.

In regard to the Farm Bureau record, more important is the fact that the Farm Bureau indicated the authors of "The Rating Game" assigned percentages without contacting or questioning the Farm Bureau. If this is true, it places into question the entire rating system which you know is often used by political opponents to their benefit.

KENNETH L. MADDY
State Senator

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONGRESS: Three for the seesaw

The Republicans came within one victory of taking control of the state's 43-member delegation to the House of Representatives. GOP candidates knocked out four Democratic incumbents, Harold (Bizz) Johnson, Jim Corman, Jim Lloyd and Lionel Van Deerlin. The Democrats maintained a 22 - 21 majority of the delegation only because freshman Bill Royer of San Mateo County was unable to hold the seat he had won in a special election.

Johnson, Corman and Van Deerlin were veteran members of Congress who held some of the most important committee assignments in the House. The defeat of Van Deerlin was a major surprise. The others were known to be locked in tight contests. In defeating Corman, anti-busing crusader Bobbi Fiedler becomes the only woman in the delegation.

The state figures to add two House seats in the next redistricting. It is assumed that the major area of gain will be the Orange-San Diego region. An effort will probably be made to carve out a Democratic district in urban San Diego.

District 1 (52%D-37%R)

Chappie (R)	**144,702**	**(54%)**
Johnson (Inc. D	107,388	(40%)
McClarin (L)	17,372	(6%)

Assemblyman Gene Chappie has been eyeing this seat for many years, assuming that he could take it easily once the veteran Bizz Johnson retired. But Johnson tried his patience, and Chappie decided to tackle the incumbent this year. Both men are popular in the sprawling northern district, but Chappie is far the better campaigner, as indicated by the result.

District 2 (52%D-34%R)

Clausen (Inc. R)	**139,835**	**(54%)**
Bork (D)	108,423	(42%)
Mosier (L)	6,752	(3%)
Wren (P&F)	3,292	(1%)

Democrats had high hopes of defeating Don Clausen this year, and they poured money into the Norma Bork campaign. Bork never stopped working following her loss to Clausen two years ago. Clausen's strength in the northern coastal counties plus the general conservative trend gave him a surprisingly large victory margin.

District 3 (57%D-32%R)

Matsui (Inc. D)	**168,682**	**(71%)**
Murphy (R)	63,359	(27%)
Daniel (L)	6,898	(3%)

Chappie

Bob Matsui of Sacramento won a rough primary two years ago, now sees only clear sailing ahead. He works the district continually and will not be caught sleeping.

District 4 (59%D-29%R)

Fazio (Inc. D)	**132,420**	**(65%)**
Dehr (R)	59,983	(30%)
Burnside (L)	10,152	(5%)

Vic Fazio is a politician by profession and will be hard to dislodge even if his Sacramento-Yolo-Solano district is rearranged next year.

District 5 (53%D-28%R)

J. Burton (Inc. D)	**100,066**	**(51%)**
McQuaid (R)	88,287	(45%)
Dougherty (L)	7,010	(4%)

Attorney Dennis McQuaid devoted a year of his life and a large bundle of money to defeating John Burton, the younger and more volatile of San Francisco's Burton-brother act. McQuaid was able to beat Burton in Marin County, but that wasn't enough to overcome Burton's strength in San Francisco. Reapportionment will be a major problem for the Burtons because San Francisco will lose representation.

District 6 (63%D-20%R)

P. Burton (Inc. D)	**91,810**	**(70%)**
Spinosa (R)	33,423	(25%)
Childs (L)	6,617	(5%)

Re-election was a snap for the older Burton brother, who still has designs on moving to the top of the congressional leadership ladder.

District 7 (56%D-33%R)

Miller (Inc. D)	**141,565**	**(63%)**
St. Clair (R)	70,203	(31%)
Snow (L)	6,903	(3%)
Thompson (AIP)	5,007	(2%)

George Miller sings the song his Contra Costa County constituents love to hear: "The northern-water-for-the-north blues."

District 8 (59%D-26%R)

Dellums (Inc. D)	**107,554**	**(56%)**
Hughes (R)	75,972	(39%)
Mikuriya (L)	10,386	(5%)

This is an impressive victory for Ron Dellums of Berkeley. Some political analysts thought the race might be close.

District 9 (61%D-28%R)

Stark (Inc. D)	**89,589**	**(55%)**
Kennedy (R)	66,580	(41%)
Clanin (L)	5,756	(4%)

This was the worst performance in years by Pete Stark of Oakland. He'll have to devote more attention to the home folks to prevent an all-out assault in 1982. But Stark may opt for a statewide race.

District 10 (58%D-26%R)

Edwards (Inc. D)	**100,901**	**(62%)**
Lutton (R)	45,234	(28%)
Fuhrig (L)	11,732	(7%)
Kaiser (AIP)	4,356	(3%)

Don Edwards of San Jose now rises to the top of the state's seniority list as a result of the defeat of senior Democrats.

District 11 (55%D-33%R)

Lantos (D)	**85,203**	**(46%)**
Royer (Inc. R)	79,586	(43%)
Branch (P&F)	13,704	(8%)
Wade (L)	3,795	(2%)
Kudrovzeff (AIP)	1,602	(1%)

This was the one bright star in the dark Democratic sky. With strong support from the education establishment and the Jewish community, Tom Lantos put together a high-powered campaign that topped Bill Royer, who had been chosen in a special election to replace Leo Ryan, the Democrat assassinated in Guyana. Lantos is a former official of the California Teachers Association and a college teacher. He outclassed Royer as a stump speaker.

District 12 (48%D-37%R)

McCloskey (Inc. R)	**139,737**	**(72%)**
Olsen (D)	36,163	(19%)
Evers (L)	14,834	(8%)
Fumino (P&F)	4,162	(2%)

The big question for Pete McCloskey is whether to enter a statewide race in 1982. Can the maverick from the Stanford area win a GOP primary? His district figures to be changed in redistricting, especially if he maintains his plan to run for higher office.

Lantos

District 13 (50%D-36%R)

Mineta (Inc. D)	**129,188**	**(59%)**
Gagne (R)	77,576	(35%)
Strong (L)	8,616	(4%)
Goldsborough (P&F)	3,668	(2%)

Norman Mineta, the former mayor of San Jose, took soundings and decided that he had better work hard this year. The effort paid off.

District 14 (54%D-36%R)

Shumway (Inc. R)	**133,595**	**(61%)**
Cerney (D)	79,704	(36%)
Housley (D)	6,732	(3%)

Norm Shumway did an excellent job of solidifying his hold on this San Joaquin Valley district.

District 15 (60%D-31%R)

Coelho (Inc. D)	**106,433**	**(72%)**
Schwartz (R)	37,291	(25%)
Pullen (L)	4,606	(3%)

The billboards along Highway 99 near Fresno tell it all: "Tony Coelho is our Congressman."

District 16 (49%D-36%R)

Panetta (Inc. D)	**157,230**	**(71%)**
Roth (R)	54,192	(25%)
Bowers (L)	6,749	(3%)
Mauro (AIP)	3,172	(1%)

This is an extraordinary victory margin for a Democrat in a marginal area in a Republican year. The folks in the Monterey Bay area apparently agree with those who watch Congress that Leon Panetta is one of the most able members of the House.

District 17 (54%D-37%R)

Pashayan (Inc. R)	**127,740**	**(71%)**
Johnson (D)	53,209	(29%)

Democrats in Fresno claim that Chip Pashayan has no strong base of support, but you could never tell that from the outcome of this year's election.

District 18 (52%D-39%R)

Thomas (Inc. R)	**122,639**	**(71%)**
Timmermans (D)	50,029	(29%)

Bill Thomas is a master at working the conservative voters of Kern County.

District 19 (50%D-36%R)

L'm'sino (Inc. R)	**160,893**	**(78%)**
Lodise (D)	36,601	(18%)
Trotter (L)	9,674	(5%)

It seems as though Bob Lagomarsino has been representing the central coast for an eternity, either in Congress or the state Senate. Actually, he's only 54 and could keep rolling for another two decades. Should he quit, this district could go Democratic.

District 20 (46%D-44%R)

Goldwater (Inc. R)	**195,789**	**(79%)**
Miller (D)	42,275	(17%)
Darwin (L)	10,399	(4%)

Barry Goldwater Jr. will probably have even a safer seat following redistricting. Will he stay in the House indefinitely or finally gamble to join his father in the United States Senate?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

District 21 (60%D-30%R)

Fiedler (R)	**73,152**	**(49%)**
Corman (Inc. D)	72,288	(48%)
Lehmann (L)	2,721	(2%)
Tucker (P&F)	1,970	(1%)

The early announcement by the TV networks that Ronald Reagan had defeated Jimmy Carter might have cost Jim Corman his seat. This was a close, bitterly fought contest in which the central issue was Bobbi Fiedler's campaign against busing. She will be a Democratic target in 1982.

District 22 (45%D-46%R)

Moorhead (Inc. R)	**112,533**	**(64%)**
O'Donnell (D)	56,407	(32%)
Susel (L)	7,510	(4%)

Attorney Pierce O'Donnell campaigned as though he had a chance against Carlos Moorhead of Glendale. Moorhead may be dull, but he's in tune with his constituents.

District 23 (60%D-30%R)

Beilenson (Inc. D)	**123,038**	**(63%)**
Winckler (R)	61,009	(31%)
Lieb (L)	10,381	(5%)

The 2-1 victory margin by Tony Beilenson of Beverly Hills is about par for the course.

District 24 (59%D-28%R)

Waxman (Inc. D)	**91,568**	**(64%)**
Cayard (R)	38,631	(27%)
Feigin (P&F)	5,750	(4%)
Lehman (L)	5,059	(4%)
Smilowitz (AIP)	2,294	(2%)

For Henry Waxman, another victory in the Fairfax district was taken for granted. His big victory was the success of the Berman forces in the speakership fight. Howard Berman and Waxman are co-leaders of the preeminent Democratic organization in the state.

District 25 (70%D-20%R)

Roybal (Inc. D)	**48,283**	**(66%)**
Ferraro (R)	20,665	(28%)
Mitchell (L)	4,101	(6%)

Ed Roybal is now one of the senior members of the delegation, and he can probably remain in Congress as long as he wishes. His only threat could come in a Democratic primary.

District 26 (45%D-47%R)

Rousselot (Inc. R)	**113,991**	**(71%)**
Lisoni (D)	39,375	(25%)
Wagener (L)	7,558	(5%)

Conservative John Rousselot is kicking himself for not having run against Alan Cranston, given the national trend.

Fiedler

District 27 (47%D-41%R)

Dornan (Inc. R)	**106,342**	**(51%)**
Peck (D)	97,663	(47%)
Sievers (L)	5,309	(3%)

Outspoken Bob Dornan won the "Star Wars" rematch over Carey Peck by a wider margin than in their first meeting two years ago. Will there be a round three? Will the district be cut to ribbons by redistricting?

District 28 (75%D-16%R)

Dixon (Inc. D)	**106,975**	**(79%)**
Reid (R)	22,638	(17%)
Ghermann (L)	5,278	(4%)

Julian Dixon might as well have run unopposed.

District 29 (84%D-10%R)

Hawkins (Inc. D)	**79,100**	**(86%)**
Hirt (R)	10,094	(11%)
Smith (L)	2,581	(3%)

Augustus Hawkins will be 75 at the completion of his new term. Assemblywoman Maxine Waters is already at the starting blocks, ready for the race to replace him if Hawkins does retire.

District 30 (70%D-22%R)

Danielson (Inc. D)	**72,995**	**(72%)**
Platten (R)	23,683	(23%)
Hobbs (L)	4,400	(4%)

George Danielson, at 65, is approaching the age at which the younger political animals start thinking of ways to put a senior officeholder out to pasture.

District 31 (74%D-18%R)

Dymally (D)	**68,160**	**(65%)**
Grimshaw (R)	37,447	(35%)

Former Lieutenant Governor Merv Dymally locked this seat away in the June primary. He could become an important force within the congressional black caucus.

District 32 (62%D-28%R)

Anderson (Inc. D)	**82,436**	**(66%)**
Adler (R)	38,250	(31%)
Cosgrove (L)	4,122	(3%)

Former Lieutenant Governor Glenn Anderson quietly rolls up easy victory after easy victory.

District 33 (54%D-38%R)

Grisham (Inc. R)	**120,421**	**(71%)**
Anderson (D)	49,664	(29%)

Wayne Grisham of La Mirada emerged from a large pack two years ago to win this marginal seat. He made it look anything but marginal this time.

District 34 (52%D-39%R)

Lungren (Inc. R)	**135,253**	**(72%)**
Simone (D)	45,386	(24%)
Donohue (P&F)	7,635	(4%)

Dan Lungren put a lock on this district with this performance.

District 35 (49%D-41%R)

Dreier (R)	**98,431**	**(52%)**
Lloyd (Inc. D)	86,241	(45%)
Noonan (P&F)	5,349	(3%)

Democrat Jim Lloyd has been a Republican target for years because the district has a weak Democratic base. Young Dave Dreier, who has strong Claremont Colleges connections, lost to Lloyd two years ago but had better backing this time. Dreier, 28, will be hard to budge, but reapportionment could affect his constituency (probably for the better).

District 36 (56%D-32%R)

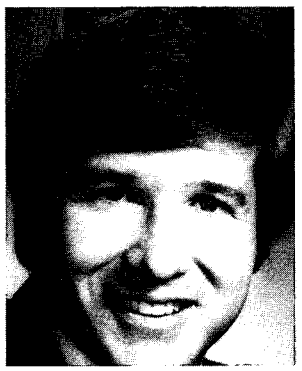
Brown (Inc. D)	**87,665**	**(52%)**
Stark (R)	72,984	(44%)
Histen (L)	6,776	(4%)

This is a weak showing by the veteran George Brown Jr. He'll have to go back to work unless he gets a safer district in reapportionment.

District 37 (46%D-43%R)

Lewis (Inc. R)	**163,680**	**(72%)**
Rusk (D)	57,544	(25%)
Morris (L)	7,549	(3%)

This district is more Republican than the registration would indicate, and Jerry Lewis of Highland knows how to protect himself from danger.



Lowery

District 38 (52%D-36%R)

Patterson (Inc. D)	**90,647**	**(56%)**
Jacobson (R)	65,340	(40%)
Heiser (L)	7,201	(4%)

This is a respectable showing by Jerry Patterson of Santa Ana who knows how to keep his Orange County constituents voting for a Democrat.

District 39 (41%D-48%R)

D'meyer (Inc. R)	**172,029**	**(76%)**
Lahtinen (D)	53,738	(24%)

Bill Dannemeyer should remain in Congress for many a year – much to the chagrin of his Democratic colleagues, who claim he talks too much.

District 40 (37%D-50%R)

Badham (Inc. R)	**209,775**	**(70%)**
Dow (D)	65,388	(22%)
Mahaffey (L)	24,133	(8%)

Bob Badham of Newport Beach will have a smaller district next time around, but it will be just as safe.

District 41 (44%D-39%R)

Lowery (R)	**120,617**	**(53%)**
Wilson (D)	99,102	(43%)
Alldredge (L)	9,467	(4%)

The victory of San Diego Councilman Bill Lowery was a mild surprise. State Senator Bob Wilson was supposedly ahead in the polls. But the efforts of Mayor Pete Wilson on behalf of Lowery and the Republican mood of San Diego voters apparently turned the tide. The seat was abandoned by veteran Congressman Bob Wilson. It was thought that the name confusion plus a conservative image and campaign experience would pull Senator Wilson through to victory. The district has a Republican tradition.

District 42 (55%D-30%R)

Hunter (R)	**77,819**	**(53%)**
Van Deerlin (Inc. D)	68,354	(47%)

The election of 32-year-old GOP attorney Duncan Hunter over the veteran Lionel Van Deerlin was a major surprise. Van Deerlin had won many an election with ease, and he was respected as the chairman of the subcommittee writing communications laws. How then did he lose? Duncan and his family ran an old-fashioned, door-to-door campaign for months. As the campaign was nearing the close, Republicans saw a poll showing Hunter within shooting distance. Money went into the district for a media blitz, and Van Deerlin was unprepared to fight it off.

District 43 (41%D-47%R)

Burgener (Inc. R)	**292,039**	**(87%)**
Metzger (D)	45,623	(13%)

This race received more attention than any in California this year. The reason was the June victory of Ku Klux Klan leader Tom Metzger in the Democratic primary. It made no difference to the media that he had no chance of winning or that the Democratic Party had disowned him. The Metzger candidacy gave the race sex appeal. Burgener ran a serious campaign and polled more votes that any congressional candidate in history. According to Congressional Quarterly, *the previous record was 268,647 by Marguerite Stitt Church of Illinois in 1960.*

Key to statistics

Registration statistics do not include minor parties or those who decline to state an affiliation.

Election results are from the semi-official canvass compiled by the Secretary of State's office.

Names of winners are in **bold-face** type.

Abbreviations: **Inc.** for Incumbent, **D** for Democratic, **R** for Republican, **P&F** for Peace and Freedom, **AIP** for American Independent, **L** for Libertarian, **Ind.** for Independent.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STATE SENATE: Doolittle did plenty

The partisan statistics of the state Senate will be unchanged as a result of the November election: 23-17 in favor of the Democrats. But the Upper House will hardly be the same. In a major surprise, John Doolittle, a protege of Senator H. L. Richardson, defeated Finance Committee Chairman Albert Rodda of Sacramento, perhaps the most respected member of the Legislature. That victory, combined with other results, placed Richardson in a much stronger position and endangered the leadership post of GOP floor leader Bill Campbell, whom Richardson has openly been attempting to topple. Campbell is expected to keep his post, however.

Doolittle and Assemblyman Jim Ellis of San Diego won seats formerly held by Democrats. But two retiring GOP members were replaced by Democrats Dan Boatwright of Concord and Henry Mello of Watsonville. The Senate, hardly liberal in the past, now will take on a decidely conservative complexion.

District 1 (52%D-37%R)

Johnson (Inc. R)	**171,762**	**(66%)**
Huggins (D)	70,743	27%)
Sparling (L)	16,167	(6%)

Labor groups tried to raise enough money to threaten the veteran Ray Johnson of Chico but didn't even come close. Johnson plans to run again in four years at the age of 73.

District 3 (57%D-31%R)

Doolittle (R)	**123,844**	**(52%)**
Rodda (Inc. D)	115,795	(48%)

Why did Albert Rodda go down to defeat? There are a variety of reasons: He didn't take the Doolittle attack seriously, running only a token campaign. Some voters might have confused him with Allan Robbins, the senator who had been indicted on sex charges. Doolittle ran a tough campaign that appealed to the voters. Rodda ignored the fact that, although he was well known among the community leaders in Sacramento, his reputation was a mystery to the masses of new residents in his district. Doolittle will be a likely reapportionment target.

District 5 (59%D-20%R)

Marks (Inc. R)	**121,805**	**(85%)**
Garris (L)	20,846	(15%)

Milton Marks of San Francisco is a masterful campaigner who carries the Republican label but votes with the Democrats. He probably will survive regardless of how San Francisco is sliced in redistricting.

District 7 (56%D-33%R)

Boatwright (D)	**149,509**	**(63%)**
Jarboe (R)	67,521	(28%)
White (L)	12,181	(5%)
Garner (AIP)	9,896	(4%)

The GOP high command surrendered this former Republican seat to Democrat Dan Boatwright without much of a struggle. Boatwright will seek a leadership role in the Senate the day he is sworn into office – or before.

District 9 (59%D-27%R)

Petris (Inc. D)	**126,207**	**(65%)**
Roust (R)	51,546	(27%)
Diamond (L)	9,909	(5%)
Condit (P&F)	6,754	(4%)

The veteran Nick Petris of Oakland will be one of the few genuine liberals left in the Senate.

District 11 (57%D-31%R)

Alquist (Inc. D)	**131,359**	**(61%)**
Arey (R)	71,300	(33%)
Redding (L)	13,160	(6%)

At 72, the veteran Al Alquist of San Jose figures to move further up the leadership ladder as a result of the Rodda defeat. Alquist is so vigorous he appears far from retirement.

District 13 (55%D-35%R)

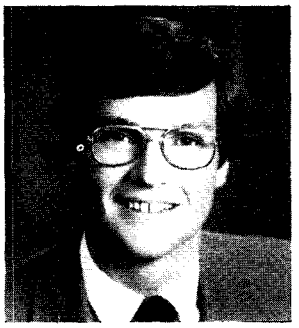
G'mendi (Inc. D)	**159,471**	**(66%)**
Johnson (R)	82,984	(34%)

The Republican attack on John Garamendi flopped miserably. Now the question is which statewide office Garamendi will seek.

District 15 (54%D-37%R)

Vuich (Inc. D)	**138,591**	**(72%)**
Adams (R)	53,185	(28%)

The state's pioneer female senator, Rose Ann Vuich of Tulare County, faced a candidate who qualified for the ballot by write-in. The write-in effort was a waste of time.



Doolittle

District 17 (49%D-36%R)

Mello (D)	**116,892**	**(49%)**
Seastrand (R)	115,827	(48%)
Kilburn (L)	8,281	(3%)

In the final weeks of the campaign, the central coast battle between Democratic Assemblyman Henry Mello and conservative Eric Seastrand became one of the most bitter battles in the state. Mello will try to get a somewhat safer district in redistricting.

Davis

District 19 (47%D-43%R)

Davis (R)	**150,282**	**(59%)**
Woodlock (D)	92,025	(36%)
Stiffler (L)	11,538	(5%)

Former Los Angeles Police Chief Ed Davis spent a record amount capturing this seat. Davis was unwilling to settle for mere victory. He obviously wanted to capture so many votes that he could use this election as a springboard, perhaps for another shot at the governor's office.

District 21 (45%D-47%R)

Russell (Inc. R)	**133,609**	**(72%)**
Cogar (D)	42,622	(23%)
Ogawa (L)	9,944	(5%)

Elections now come easy for Newton Russell of Glendale.

District 23 (60%D-27%R)

Roberti (Inc. D)	**90,589**	**(63%)**
White (R)	44,902	(31%)
Richardson (L)	6,154	(4%)
Scanlon (AIP)	2,413	(2%)

Democratic floor leader David Roberti is angling for the Senate's top leadership post.

District 25 (45%D-47%R)

R'son (Inc. R)	**143,538**	**(75%)**
Boothroyd (D)	40,381	(21%)
Staller (L)	7,730	(4%)

Re-election was a minor problem for conservative Bill Richardson. He was shooting big political game elsewhere in the state and came home with some memorable trophies.

District 27 (49%D-40%R)

Beverly (Inc. R)	**128,516**	**(72%)**
Buckland (D)	38,064	(21%)
Howard (L)	13,074	(7%)

Pragmatic Bob Beverly will probably become a Senate institution.

District 29 (82%D-11%R)

Greene (Inc. D)	**75,070**	**(83%)**
Faulkner (R)	12,786	(14%)
Thomas (L)	2,614	(3%)

The re-election of Bill Greene was taken for granted. What's significant about these numbers is the relatively low turnout in the heart of the Los Angeles black community.

District 31 (57%D-33%R)

Speraw (Inc. R)	**88,114**	**(55%)**
Fronke (D)	73,516	(45%)

Despite a series of blunders and a heavy Democratic bombardment, newcomer Ollie Speraw of Long Beach managed to survive. Speraw is an ally of Bill Richardson.

District 33 (54%D-38%R)

Campbell (Inc. R)	**131,524**	**(73%)**
Epple (D)	49,123	(27%)

After winning another term from his Whittier area constitutents, Bill Campbell turned to his real problem – beating off the attempt by the Richardson forces to dump him as GOP leader.

District 35 (40%D-48%R)

Briggs (Inc. R)	**150,497**	**(63%)**
Velasquez (D)	75,549	(31%)
Grover (L)	10,821	(5%)
Boeheim (P&F)	3,943	(2%)

There were some who thought that John Briggs might be tested this year. But this was hardly the election in which Republicans from Orange County were going to be endangered, even those as controversial as Briggs.

District 37 (51%D-37%R)

Carpenter (Inc. D)	**102,990**	**(61%)**
Wiles (R)	67,326	(40%)

Paul Carpenter has a conservative image, and that helps explain his wide victory margin in a banner year for Republicans in Orange County.

District 39 (45%D-39%R)

Ellis (R)	**146,991**	**(63%)**
Finnigan (D)	85,414	(37%)

Although this was a Democratic seat in the last session, Assemblyman Jim Ellis was the favorite to replace Bob Wilson from the moment Wilson indicated he would run for Congress.

Ellis

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ASSEMBLY: Saga of the speakership

With the presidential and United States Senate campaigns operating in low gear in California this year, the prime political activity for insiders was centered on the battle for the Assembly speakership between incumbent Leo McCarthy and challenger Howard Berman. Both candidates spent more than a million dollars trying to get their supporters elected; without this kind of effort, Republicans might have won quite a few more seats. Because polls are unreliable in district elections, no one knew until the returns started to be compiled how each of the would-be speakers was doing.

The voters handed down a clear verdict against McCarthy. The speaker lost one of his incumbents, Floyd Mori, and didn't knock off a single Republican. Not counting four incumbent Democrats who were not strongly aligned with either camp, McCarthy came up with only 18 votes. He conceded and called for the Democratic caucus to go along with any candidate getting a majority, and that would be Berman.

The challenger didn't lose a single incumbent, and his candidates dumped two Republican incumbents, Paul Bannai and Robert Hayes. Berman came up with 25 solid votes, and the floaters immediately started moving into his camp. The only question remaining was whether the Republicans would try to form a coalition with some anti-Berman Democrats. The GOP fears Berman's organizing ability, especially in a reapportionment year.

The Democrats started the election season with 50 of the 80 Assembly seats. The election returns compiled by the secretary of state's office indicated that two candidates, Republican Adrian Fondse and Democrat Chet Wray, had won. However, the races were so close that the outcome could be changed in either race. Assuming that the figures stand, the new Assembly would have 47 Democrats and 33 Republicans. Considering the overall political trend in 1980, the Democrats came away in excellent shape in the Legislature.

District 1 (52%D-36%R)

Statham (Inc. R)	**104,228**	**(80%)**
Liebling (L)	17,530	(14%)
Misso (P&F)	7,995	(6%)

Stan Statham of Chico didn't draw a Democratic opponent, and the Libertarians missed a chance to mount a major campaign.

District 2 (54%D-32%R)

Bosco (Inc. D)	**81,072**	**(63%)**
Potts (R)	36,112	(28%)
Garth (L)	5,800	(5%)
Maxson (P&F)	5,205	(4%)

Freshman Doug Bosco showed he will probably be hard to dislodge from his north coast district.

District 3 (51%D-38%R)

Herger (R)	**74,819**	**(54%)**
Garcia (D)	54,936	(40%)
Martini (L)	9,277	(7%)

McCarthy candidate George Garcia was believed to have a good chance of winning this foothill district, but he was out-campaigned by Republican Wally Herger. The seat was abandoned by Congressman-elect Gene Chappie.

District 4 (56%D-31%R)

Hannigan (Inc. D)	**75,600**	**(63%)**
Cecil (R)	35,563	(30%)
Bolick (L)	8,532	(7%)

Tom Hannigan of Fairfield is one of the smoother operators in the Legislature, should have a long political career.

District 5 (56%D-32%R)

Moorhead (Inc. R)	**75,109**	**(59%)**
Sheedy (D)	51,586	(41%)

Republican Jean Moorhead of Sacramento compensates for adverse registration statistics with personal popularity and a nonpartisan image. County Supervisor Ted Sheedy spent a fortune to beat her, didn't even come close.

District 6 (58%D-31%R)

Greene (Inc. D)	**62,209**	**(54%)**
Benvenuti (R)	49,044	(42%)
Reiger (P&F)	5,052	(4%)

Veteran Leroy Greene of Sacramento had a tough opponent in the primary. Republican Dan Benvenuti tried to move in for the kill with a bundle of his own money, but the district remained Democratic.

District 7 (53%D-36%R)

N. Waters (Inc. D)	**83,850**	**(56%)**
Parises (R)	64,966	(44%)

The Republicans thought they could beat Norm Waters, but he maintained his popularity in the gold country.

District 8 (55%D-34%R)

Sebastiani (R)	**68,383**	**(54%)**
Asera (D)	53,689	(43%)
Hawkes (P&F)	4,227	(3%)

Democrat Mike Gage of Napa gave up this seat to become a wilderness guide. The wine-bottle name helped vintner Dan Sebastiani defeat Larry Asera, a Solano County supervisor of Filipino extraction.

District 9 (48%D-34%R)

Filante (Inc. R)	**66,956**	**(51%)**
Charles (D)	59,254	(45%)
Duncan (P&F)	4,865	(4%)

Backed by McCarthy, activist Anne Charles ran an all-out attack on freshman Bill Filante. The airwaves crackled with commercials from both camps, including one for Charles with a W. C. Fields imitator. But Marin County went Republican this year.

District 10 (49%D-39%R)

Baker (R)	**73,822**	**(51%)**
Hasseltine (D)	64,178	(44%)
James (L)	7,775	(5%)

This district, eastern Contra Costa County, has a tradition of alternating between the parties. With Democrat Dan Boatwright moving to the Senate, it went Republican. Prior to Boatwright, it was represented by Republican Jim Dent, Democrat Jerry Waldie and Republican Donald Doyle.

District 11 (65%D-24%R)

Campbell (D)	**65,457**	**(68%)**
Birka (R)	21,677	(23%)
Corl (L)	4,456	(5%)
Dietrich (AIP)	4,207	(4%)

Democrat Bob Campbell won this seat, abandoned by retiring John Knox, in a rough June primary.

District 12 (53%D-33%R)

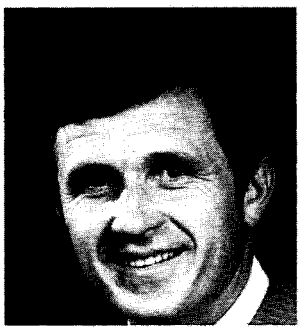
Bates (Inc. D)	**76,665**	**(61%)**
Sullivan (R)	41,541	(33%)
Haughton (L)	5,379	(4%)
Cowan (P&F)	3,133	(3%)

Tom Bates showed surprising strength in his Berkeley-Oakland district. He ran far ahead of registration.

District 13 (68%D-18%R)

Harris (Inc. D)	**53,264**	**(81%)**
Heitzmann (L)	12,780	(19%)

Freshman Elihu Harris will never have to worry about November elections, only primaries and leadership fights in the Legislature. He was a McCarthy backer.



Herger

District 14 (70%D-20%R)

Lockyer (Inc. D)	**66,198**	

Bill Lockyer figures to be a key member of a Berman leadership team.

District 15 (57%D-30%R)

Marguth (R)	**55,314**	**(55%)**
Mori (Inc. D)	44,733	(45%)

Incumbent Floyd Mori of Pleasanton endangered himself by his handling of an incident involving the use of a state-leased vehicle. He was wounded in the primary and polished off in November by former Livermore mayor Gib Marguth.

District 16 (62%D-17%R)

Agnos (Inc. D)	**44,805**	**(74%)**
Jenkins (R)	11,032	(18%)
Raimondo (L)	4,652	(8%)

Art Agnos of San Francisco is like a son or kid brother to Leo McCarthy. The change in the speakership will reduce his power considerably.

District 17 (57%D-22%R)

W. Brown (Inc. D)	**52,358**	**(61%)**
Crary (R)	26,409	(31%)
Schwartz (L)	4,382	(5%)
Kangas (P&F)	2,575	(3%)

The Republicans made a mild run against Willie Brown, but the flamboyant San Franciscan was never really in trouble.

District 18 (64%D-21%R)

McCarthy (Inc. D)	**62,616**	**(74%)**
Gede (R)	18,184	(22%)
Pickens (L)	3,507	(4%)

Winning re-election with ease was hardly consolation for Leo McCarthy.

District 19 (57%D-31%R)

Papan (Inc. D)	**45,179**	**(51%)**
Tucker (R)	38,283	(43%)
Baba (L)	5,841	(7%)

The GOP pulled out all the stops to defeat Lou Papan of Daly City, head of the Assembly Rules Committee. Papan countered with a full-scale campaign of his own, including endorsement from two Republican legislators.

District 20 (47%D-40%R)

Naylor (Inc. R)	**73,585**	**(70%)**
Tovar (D)	25,112	(24%)
Grossman (AIP)	6,187	(6%)

The Democrats didn't even make an effort to beat freshman Bob Naylor in the Redwood City area.

District 21 (50%D-33%R)

Sher (D)	**56,423**	**(58%)**
Morris (R)	33,799	(35%)
Olson (L)	7,145	(7%)

Two years ago, Republican Greg Morris came close to upsetting Democrat Vic Calvo. With Calvo retiring, Morris thought he was on his way to Sacramento. But he was thoroughly outcampaigned by Byron Sher of Palo Alto.

District 22 (43%D-44%R)

Konnyu (R)	**62,676**	**(55%)**
Bridges (D)	44,052	(39%)
Barron (P&F)	6,597	(6%)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The departure of Republican Dick Hayden of Sunnyvale put this seat up for grabs. Former Saratoga Mayor Cole Bridges didn't work nearly as hard as perpetual candidate Ernest Konnyu, and the worker won.

District 23 (57%D-29%R)

V'cellos (Inc. D)	**47,686**	**(58%)**
Street (R)	29,599	(36%)
Wurm (L)	4,535	(6%)

The Republicans tried to create the illusion that they had veteran John Vasconcellos of San Jose on the ropes. This was a significant victory for Vasconcellos, who proved he still has plenty of vote-pulling ability at the south end of San Francisco Bay.

District 24 (63%D-33%R)

Cortese (D)	**57,474**	**(48%)**
Pegram (R)	55,842	(47%)
De Amicis (L)	5,720	(5%)

The retirement of Democrat Leona Egeland prompted a heavy-spending campaign on behalf of Santa Clara County Supervisor Dom Cortese and San Jose Councilman Larry Pegram. The Democrats expected Cortese to win by a larger margin.

District 25 (69%D-27%R)

McAlister (Inc. D)	**78,974**	

Alister McAlister is the Republicans' favorite Democrat.

District 26 (69%D-32%R)

Fondse (R)	**42,256**	**(48%)**
Johnston (D)	42,189	(48%)
Brewster (L)	3,731	(4%)

The pre-election polls had Pat Johnston ahead but Adrian Fondse had the most votes in the semi-official canvass. A recount looks likely.

District 27 (58%D-33%R)

Thurman (Inc. D)	**55,922**	**(61%)**
Patterakis (R)	32,879	(36%)
Gerringer (L)	2,919	(3%)

The expected GOP attack on John Thurman never developed in the Modesto area.

District 28 (50%D-33%R)

Farr (D)	**67,379**	**(53%)**
Welchner (R)	47,655	(38%)
Zaharakis (P&F)	6,262	(5%)
Atkinson (L)	5,044	(4%)

Monterey County Supervisor Sam Farr should be at the head of the freshman class. He is the son of former state Senator Fred Farr, worked in the Legislature himself and is an ally of Howard Berman. Republican Ann Welchner might have made the race closer but for health problems. The incumbent, Henry Mello, was elected to the Senate.

District 29 (48%D-39%R)

Hallett (Inc. R)	**92,345**	

Republican floor leader Carol Hallett has no problems in her coastal district, but she must keep a close watch on her leadership post.

District 30 (63%D-28%R)

Costa (Inc D)	**51,476**	**(68%)**
Harner (R)	24,621	(32%)

Democratic loyalty held strong for Jim Costa of Fresno.

District 31 (54%D-38%R)

Lehman (Inc. D)	**83,198**	

Rick Lehman figures to be a key member of a Berman leadership team.

District 32 (54%D-36%R)

Duffy (Inc. R)	**49,640**	**(59%)**
Bovetti (D)	34,281	(41%)

The veteran Gordon Duffy of Hanford had to work for a change because of the threat posed by a Berman-backed opponent.

District 33 (54%D-37%R)

Rogers (Inc. R)	**59,561**	**(67%)**
Jensen (D)	29,591	(33%)

Republican Don Rogers of Bakersfield probably is looking ahead toward a run for the state Senate in 1982.

District 34 (48%D-42%R)

Wyman (Inc. R)	**76,847**	**(73%)**
Dizmang (D)	28,370	(27%)

Republican Phil Wyman could be a victim or beneficiary of reapportionment. His district consists of the Southern California leftovers from the last realignment.

District 35 (47%D-37%R)

Hart (Inc. D)	**70,795**	**(60%)**
Aquino (R)	43,209	(37%)
Sutton (L)	3,277	(3%)

Gary Hart of Santa Barbara makes up for lack of registered Democrats with personal popularity. He could run for statewide office in 1982.

District 36 (51%D-37%R)

Imbrecht (Inc. R)	**75,242**	**(68%)**
Laufer (D)	31,429	(28%)
Chew (L)	4,035	(4%)

Democrats talked as though they were going to challenge GOP caucus chairman Charles Imbrecht. But they didn't put any money behind the words.

District 37 (47%D-43%R)

Wright (R)	**65,550**	**(57%)**
Mathews (D)	39,139	(34%)
Wiener (L)	9,852	(9%)

Councilwoman Cathie Wright of Simi Valley ran away from consumer advocate Arline Mathews in a race that was supposed to be close. Wright replaces Republican Bob Cline.

District 38 (46%D-43%R)

LaFollette (R)	**62,678**	**(48%)**
Afriat (D)	61,901	(47%)
Tanner (L)	7,018	(5%)

The Berman organization came close to upsetting Marian LaFollette who was supposed to have a fairly easy ride to replace Paul Priolo. Democrat Steve Afriat shouldn't have come this close in a traditional GOP district.

Cortese

District 39 (61%D-30%R)

Katz (D)	**37,249**	**(50%)**
Hayes (Inc. R)	33,733	(45%)
Woods (AIP)	2,095	(3%)
Binsley (L)	1,728	(2%)

Incumbent Robert Hayes won a surprise victory over a Democrat two years ago. The Berman organization went all out to reclaim the seat behind graphic artist Richard Katz and now the area will probably remain Democratic for a while.

District 40 (59%D-31%R)

Bane (Inc. D)	**55,429**	**(65%)**
Kennedy (R)	25,177	(30%)
Vargo (L)	2,533	(3%)
Engel (P&F)	1,788	(2%)

The years are starting to show on veteran Tom Bane, but his political vigor and ability are the same as ever.

Katz

District 41 (45%D-47%R)

Nolan (Inc. R)	**65,611**	**(74%)**
Helms (D)	18,887	(21%)
Wulfe (L)	3,735	(4%)

Glendale always goes Republican, allowing Pat Nolan to play in larger pastures.

District 42 (45%D-46%R)

Ivers (Inc. R)	**51,836**	**(52%)**
Henry (D)	43,867	(44%)
Stroberg (L)	4,036	(4%)

The Berman organization tried a late assault on Bill Ivers in this Pasadena-anchored district and came reasonably close behind with Robert Henry, a black deputy attorney general. Ivers will probably seek a safer seat in 1982.

District 43 (58%D-33%R)

Berman (Inc. D)	**72,874**	**(63%)**
Bates (R)	36,684	(32%)
Lagasse (L)	5,511	(5%)

This district was a relatively minor concern to Howard Berman. His real victories came elsewhere.

District 44 (60%D-27%R)

Levine (Inc. D)	**66,268**	**(68%)**
Haupt (R)	25,590	(26%)
Wolford (L)	5,308	(6%)

Mel Levine will be a key member of any Berman speakership team.

District 45 (62%D-26%R)

Rosenthal (Inc. D)	**59,947**	**(64%)**
Parker (R)	25,661	(27%)
Brown (L)	4,228	(5%)
Weston (P&F)	4,151	(4%)

Howard Berman will find a nifty assignment for old-friend Herschel Rosenthal.

District 46 (59%D-28%R)

Roos (Inc. D)	**34,729**	**(66%)**
Cory (R)	14,723	(28%)
Garner (L)	3,231	(6%)

Resourceful Mike Roos had a big problem: He was a solid Leo McCarthy backer. Now he must work to prevent his district from being dismantled and to retain visibility in the Assembly.

District 47 (81%D-12%R)

Hughes (Inc. D)	**36,529**	**(86%)**
Thompson (R)	6,172	(15%)

This is a typical victory for Teresa Hughes

District 48 (84%D-10%R)

M. Waters (Inc. D)	**39,237**	**(83%)**
Hallburn (R)	8,082	(17%)

Maxine Waters, one of the more skillful politicians in California, is waiting for an opportunity to shift her talents to Washington.

District 49 (73%D-18%R)

Moore (Inc. D)	**68,545**	**(85%)**
Dye (L)	11,715	(15%)

This is an impressive victory margin for Gwen Moore.

District 50 (74%D-18%R)

Tucker (Inc. D)	**50,833**	**(74%)**
Thomas (R)	14,727	(21%)
Townsend (L)	3,372	(5%)

Curtis Tucker rejoined the Berman bandwagon with the speed of light after hearing the election outcome.

District 51 (42%D-46%R)

Ryan (Inc. R)	**80,407**	**(76%)**
Wirth (D)	19,694	(19%)
Crowe (L)	6,153	(6%)

Moderate Marilyn Ryan even gets a majority of the Democratic vote on the Palos Verdes Peninsula.

District 52 (58%D-32%R)

Felando (Inc. R)	**39,555**	**(52%)**
Dominguez (D)	33,036	(43%)
M. Cassano (L)	3,804	(5%)

Two years ago, Republican Gerald Felando was a surprise victor in this district. The Berman outfit set out to reclaim the seat this year, but the tactics of GOP campaign strategist Allan Hoffenblum held the seat. Felando will be under fire again in 1982 because the San Pedro area has a Democratic tradition.

Fondse

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

District 53 (68%D-23%R)

Floyd (D)	**34,559**	**(53%)**
Bannai (Inc. R)	27,742	(43%)
S. Cassano (L)	2,370	(4%)

Republican Paul Bannai has won repeatedly in this Democratic district, despite major efforts to beat him. This year the combined forces of the Berman organization and Senator Ralph Dills turned the tables. Winner Dick Floyd is the long-time aide to Senator Dills.

District 54 (78%D-15%R)

Vicencia (Inc. D)	**39,800**	**(76%)**
Coxson (R)	9,935	(19%)
Holloway (L)	2,403	(5%)

Frank Vicencia was hoping for a Berman-McCarthy deadlock so he could become speaker by compromise. Now he will concentrate on redesigning his district to minimize the possibility of a primary attack from the black community.,

District 55 (66%D-23%R)

Alatorre (Inc. D)	**33,276**	**(68%)**
Reed (R)	14,092	(29%)
Boctor (L)	1,947	(4%)

This is a better-than-normal victory margin for Richard Alatorre.

District 56 (77%D-13%R)

Torres (Inc. D)	**24,493**	**(82%)**
Blacksten (R)	3,930	(13%)
Nelson (L)	1,615	(5%)

This is another poor turnout in the heart of the Los Angeles barrio.

District 57 (61%D-29%R)

Elder (Inc. D)	**40,665**	**(64%)**
Robinson (R)	23,151	(36%)

Dave Elder is the only Democrat who did well in Long Beach this year. He won by a slightly better margin two years ago.

District 58 (54%D-37%R)

Brown (Inc. R)	**55,152**	**(58%)**
Allen (D)	40,713	(43%)

Attorney John Allen spent plenty of his own money, but this was not the year for the Democrats to regain the seat Dennis Brown won in an upset two years ago.

District 59 (67%D-25%R)

Martinez (D)	**47,024**	**(73%)**
Myers (AIP)	11,434	(18%)
Swinney (L)	6,248	(10%)

Marty Martinez won this seat in the primary, ousting veteran Jack Fenton with an 11th hour mail blitz.

District 60 (65%D-26%R)

Tanner (Inc. D)	**34,026**	**(67%)**
Velasco (R)	14,114	(28%)
Argall (L)	1,483	(3%)
Guarnett (AIP)	1,121	(2%)

Konnyu

Sally Tanner, who backed McCarthy, could be hurt by reapportionment. She has a heavy Hispanic tinge to her district.

District 61 (41%D-51%R)

Mountjoy (Inc. R)	**66,129**	**(73%)**
Smith (D)	20,865	(23%)
Scanlon (AIP)	3,378	(4%)

Dick Mountjoy of Monrovia is blessed with one of the safest Republican seats in the state.

District 62 (47%D-44%R)

Lancaster (Inc. R)	**71,354**	**(72%)**
Miller (D)	28,463	(28%)

After two rugged elections, Bill Lancaster of Covina finally had a breather.

District 63 (61%D-31%R)

Young (Inc. D)	**55,884**	**(69%)**
Brandes (R)	23,432	(29%)
Leaf (L)	1,964	(2%)

Ambitious Bruce Young ran back to the Berman camp following the election. Berman counted on him as a vote all along if it looked as if Berman was a winner.

District 64 (47%D-44%R)

D. Stirling (Inc. R)	**72,930**	**(73%)**
Juric (D)	26,780	(27%)

Dave Stirling is the leader of the dissident faction within the GOP caucus. Some day he might make a move to replace Carol Hallett as floor leader.

District 65 (51%D-39%R)

Cramer (D)	**43,074**	**(49%)**
Bader (R)	41,429	(47%)
Eloff (L)	4,058	(5%)

With the appointment of Democrat Bill McVittie to a judgeship, this district opened wide. Both parties poured plenty of resources into the district, and District Attorney Jim Cramer of San Bernardino won by a nose.

District 66 (59%D-29%R)

Goggin (Inc. D)	**49,372**	**(58%)**
Sumrall (R)	31,282	(37%)
Montgomery (L)	4,327	(5%)

Terry Goggin of San Bernardino apparently was unscathed by reports that he pushed a bill which benefited a personal friend.

District 67 (45%D-44%R)

Leonard (Inc. R)	**86,538**	**(67%)**
Gunn (D)	36,451	(28%)
Wilson (L)	7,165	(6%)

Bill Leonard of Highland is only 33, could spend many a term in the Legislature.

District 68 (51%D-36%R)

Ingalls (Inc. D)	**63,062**	**(60%)**
King-Jeffers (R)	37,617	(36%)
Brinks (L)	4,609	(4%)

Republicans suspect that some year they might be able to put Walt Ingalls' feet to the fire, but they haven't found the right combination of candidate and issue yet.

District 69 (44%D-45%R)

Johnson (Inc. R)	**68,075**	**(68%)**
Thierbach (D)	31,797	(32%)

Republicans ran far ahead of registration in Orange County this year.

District 70 (37%D-51%R)

Lewis (R)	**77,990**	**(60%)**
O'Rourke (D)	29,857	(23%)
Rinehart (L)	21,892	(17%)

John Lewis of Yorba Linda won this seat in the primary. The district is one of the most conservative in the state. The Libertarian candidate did especially well, and Lewis may become a prime target of the Libertarians in 1982.

District 71 (52%D-37%R)

Wray (Inc. D)	**46,483**	**(48%)**
Allen (R)	45,915	(48%)
Showley (L)	3,726	(4%)

These figures indicate that Chet Wray of Westminster pulled out another term, but the final figures could change the result and make Doris Allen the winner.

District 72 (50%D-37%R)

Robinson (Inc. D)	**49,683**	**(66%)**
Silva (R)	26,096	(34%)

Richard Robinson of Santa Ana is a hardball politician who should get a major post under Howard Berman.

District 73 (44%D-42%R)

Frizzelle (R)	**71,531**	**(51%)**
Mangers (Inc. D)	67,616	(49%)

For three terms, Dennis Mangers has been living in the Legislature on borrowed time. The district has a definite GOP complexion, but he has overcome that fact through personal popularity. His charms ran out this year, and he will be replaced by Nolan Frizzelle, former head of the California Republican Assembly. Mangers is so highly respected in political circles that he could get a significant appointment, probably in the education field.

District 74 (33%D-54%R)

Bergeson (Inc. R)	**139,292**	**(74%)**
Baldwin (D)	32,969	(17%)
Waltman (L)	17,153	(9%)

Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach need not worry about Democrats, but a strong Libertarian candidate might make some future election interesting.

District 75 (46%D-44%R)

Kelley (Inc. R)	**87,016**	**(69%)**
Gill (D)	31,321	(25%)
Gentry (L)	8,562	(7%)

The Democrats, who held this seat only two years ago, seem to have given up the desert to the GOP.

District 76 (37%D-46%R)

Frazee (Inc. R)	**151,965**	**(71%)**
Becker (D)	47,443	(22%)
Lorenz (L)	14,534	(7%)

Robert Frazee of Carlsbad figures to get a much smaller district next time, but it will be just as safe.

District 77 (44%D-41%R)

L. Stirling (R)	**77,978**	**(60%)**
Nagel (D)	**53,133**	**(40%)**

City Councilman Larry Stirling of San Diego kept this seat for the GOP after Jim Ellis decided to run for the Senate. The Democrats made a run for the seat, but San Diego was too Republican this year for Fred Nagel to get close.

District 78 (46%D-36%R)

Kapiloff (Inc. D)	**59,807**	**(56%)**
Tharp (R)	46,792	(44%)

Despite a variety of problems – adverse publicity, a strong opponent, a GOP trend – Larry Kapiloff posted an impressive victory. The margin over Superior Judge Ross Tharp was one of the biggest surprises in the election.

District 79 (57%D-27%R)

Chacon (Inc. D)	**42,099**	**(62%)**
Bailey (R)	25,447	(38%)

Peter Chacon has the only safe Democratic Assembly district in San Diego County.

District 80 (51%D-33%R)

Deddeh (Inc. D)	**61,150**	**(63%)**
Green (R)	36,147	(37%)

Wadie Deddeh is one of the smoothest operators in the Assembly. He is a master of the art of political survivorship.

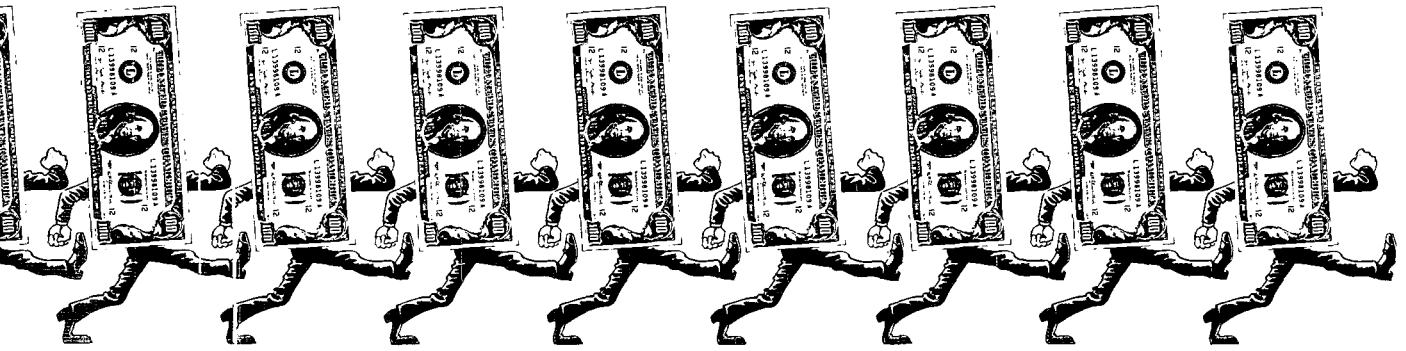
Campbell

Farr

Sebastiani

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MARCH OF THE MEGABUCKS



Guide to major donors in state Democratic campaigns

By MELISSA MOSS

"Some people support symphonies and others support art museums. And in the same manner the Democratic Party has a group of traditional patrons who support candidates year after year over a long period of time. However, every campaign has a group of new people who are a source of tremendous energy. Finding these people is the real test of fund raising."

— Tony Dougherty, fund-raiser

The names of Walter Shorenstein, Pat Kruer and Sheldon Andelson don't ring bells with most Californians. Equally obscure are Al Pross, Conway Collis and Jodie Krajewski Perhaps Lew Wasserman, Jack Brooks and Dick O'Neill can be recognized as Democratic Party heavies, but few Californians know why.

All these people control megabucks. They contribute large amounts of money to Democratic candidates and are responsible for raising the enormous sums that allow the Democratic Party to retain control of California government. These major donors and successful fund-raisers are cajoled, nurtured and revered. To candidates, they operate the dairy that provides the mother's milk of politics.

The link between the major contributor and the candidate is the fund-raiser. Candidates entrust these people with the delicate and never-ending tasks of courting contributors, soliciting funds and seeing that pledges are delivered. Fund-raisers must motivate key people on a candidate's finance committee to raise dollars and to identify lucrative prospects. They must keep the money flowing, and they must coordinate the standard fund-raising events such as dinners and cocktail parties. These people generally have a loyalty to a candidate, a cause or the Democratic Party. There is also a new category of fund-raiser: the professional "hired guns."

Filling the war chest

The ideal situation for any fund-raiser occurs when major contributors to a candidate also serve as major fund-raisers. For example, San Francisco real estate magnate Walter Shorenstein is a long-time Democratic Party activist and contributor. While his own contributions to state races are modest in terms of his wealth (his main interest is in national politics), Shorenstein will sponsor a dinner at his home and, through his business ties and community contacts, raise thousands of dollars in an evening.

But there is a key difference between the fund-raiser and the fund-raiser-contributor: Individuals employed by a candidate for the sole purpose of raising money don't usually have name recognition. They are behind-the-scenes people, responsible for overseeing the money drive and paid to produce a full war chest.

Here is a sampling of the people who do large-scale fund-

Melissa Moss is a free-lance writer in Sacramento and a former political staffer for Governor Brown.

Copyright 1980 by the California Center for Research and Education in Government

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

raising for the California Democratic Party and its candidates:

For the party — California Democrats fill their coffers primarily through the efforts of millionaire chairman Dick O'Neill; Nancy Pelosi, the northern chairwoman of the party; and two-time party chairman Chuck Manatt. Manatt currently serves as chairman of the Democratic National Finance Committee. His law partner, Mickey Kantor, served as California chairman of the Carter-Mondale campaign. Kantor says that Manatt is just a notch below — if not as important as — one of the top Democrat Party fund-raisers, entertainment impressario Lew Wasserman. Speaker of the Assembly Leo McCarthy also is responsible for raising money to elect Democrats and to keep them in office. (It was because of this role that Assemblyman Howard Berman has said he challenged McCarthy's speakership — charging that McCarthy was too preoccupied with raising money for his own future races, thereby neglecting many hungry Democrats in a tough election year.)

For single candidates — Fund-raisers for prominent state officeholders include:

- **Jodie Krajewski, for Governor Jerry Brown.** Krajewski was the principal fund-raiser for Governor Jerry Brown during his 1980 presidential campaign and cleaned up his $600,000 deficit in a brief four months. Krajewski, who has raised money for Brown since 1974, says the effort this time was the most difficult: "In 1974 we almost didn't have to make a phone call. People were calling in to make donations. In 1976 it was pretty much the same thing. In 1978 the governor's neglect of sending thank-you notes and stroking key contributors caught up with him. Instead of going back to a lot of people, new sources had to be sought out. He was really an underdog for the first time in 1980. The donations came primarily from those who were ideologically aligned with him, or true friends. Of course the prestige of his office is still a powerful draw, but it was his friends and 'love money' that came through. We had to lower our expectations a lot."
- **Conway Collis, for U.S. Senator Alan Cranston.** Conway Collis was overseer of the extremely successful fund-raising effort of California's senior senator. He expects to report in excess of $3 million raised for the November election. Collis, based in Los Angeles, claims that one of the reasons for the Cranston team's success is its emphasis on seeking out people who haven't been involved in politics before. The Cranston campaign has also had help from the Eagles rock group and from singer Kenny Loggins, who performed sold-out concerts to benefit the campaign. (The Eagles also gave concerts for Governor Brown's presidential campaign.)
- **Secretary of State March Fong Eu.** Eu was re-elected in 1978 with only token opposition. When asked about her fundraising operation, the reply from her office was: "One doesn't really exist." In the 1978 race, Los Angeles businessman Hershey Gold and Dr. George Wong of Long Beach played key roles in Eu's fund-raising. If Eu pursues the governorship in 1982, a more extensive fund-raising network will have to be developed.
- **State Controller Ken Cory.** Cory is busy building a base from which he can run for governor in 1982. He does a lot of his own fund raising, while also relying on former Brown hand Jim Mulligan to aid his campaign chest. Cory can now pitch himself as not just the controller of the state of California but as possibly the next governor, which makes him a more enticing investment.

The major reason for the huge increases in spending in the 1980 primaries was the speakership battle between Speaker McCarthy and challenger Berman. Their tug-of-war set in motion an enormous fund-raising effort throughout California. Heading the McCarthy drive was Al Pross, director of "Assembly 1980," McCarthy's committee to assist Democratic candidates. Pross relied on a "pyramid" type of organization, following up new leads and attempting to bring new people into the political process.

Howard Berman's fund raising was directed by longtime aide Jack Mayesh and assisted by a coalition of people primarily from his Los Angeles finance committee. Being from West Los Angeles, Berman has enjoyed the financial support of the traditional, liberal money which flows in his district as well as in the entertainment industry. Besides hosting two major fund-raising dinners, Berman's finance committee has branched out to new people and new money through a series of small events in private homes.

From north to south

In Northern California some of the most prominent fund-raising names include:

- **Tony Dougherty.** Formerly the chief legislative aide to Governor Brown, Dougherty left the Sacramento staff to clean up the 1976 deficit and to begin the fund-raising drive for Brown's 1980 presidential bid.
- **Jeremiah Hallisey.** An attorney in San Francisco, Hallisey supports liberal and moderate candidates with the help of his clients who range from billboard companies to Standard Oil of Ohio. Hallisey is closely associated with the Brown camp.
- **Don Muir.** Muir began his fund-raising career on behalf of the late George Moscone when Moscone was a state senator. Later Muir became a fund-raiser for Mervyn Dymally and Ken Cory. He now is a lobbyist in Sacramento,

How Campaigns are financed

Campaigns are financed by a combination of individual contributions, loans, special-interest money, party donations, and — in the case of presidential campaigns — federal matching funds.

In federal campaigns there is a $1,000 limit on the amount an individual may contribute to a single candidate and a $25,000 limit on the total amount an individual may contribute to all federal candidates in one calendar year.

California law imposes no restrictions on campaign expenditures or on how much any individual may give to a political campaign at the state or local level. Some local ordinances, however, impose contribution limits.

While state and national political reform laws have placed some restrictions on donations and how they are reported, they have not been a serious obstacle to keeping money flowing into party coffers. What has posed a problem is the skyrocketing cost of campaigns. The Fair Political Practices Commission estimates that primary-campaign spending for California state legislative seats increased 70 percent between 1978 and 1980. During the June 1980 primary election, candidates for the state Legislature spent a record total of $16.6 million, compared to $9.9 million spent two years ago.

Thus any serious candidate must have a cadre of fund-raisers and an extensive list of big contributors to form a support base and to attract other big donors. In spite of the growing prominence of political action committees and the dollars poured in by special-interest groups, the wealthy individual contributor still is an essential component of a winning campaign. M.M.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and there is talk of him joining up with Cory again if he runs for governor in 1982.

- **Nancy Pelosi.** Northern chairwoman of the Democratic Party, Pelosi is frequently mentioned as the successor to current party chairman Dick O'Neill.
- **Jack Smith.** An attorney and former mayor of Hayward, Smith serves as Leo McCarthy's Northern California finance chairman.

In the Central Valley, there are two major fund-raisers:

- **Frank Damrell Jr.** A former roommate of Governor Brown's, Damrell, of Fresno, has been active in the California Democratic Party both as a fund-raiser and as a host for Democratic candidates.
- **Jim Mulligan.** A former aide to Governor Brown, Mulligan has become a key money-raiser for Ken Cory. His low-key manner is effective in raising money in the Fresno/Modesto/Stockton farm belt.

In Southern California, there is an overlap of fund-raisers and fund-raiser-contributors. A sampling of active fund-raisers (in addition to Manatt, O'Neill and Krajewski):

- **Mickey Kantor.** Kantor served as manager of Governor Brown's 1976 presidential effort and as state chairman of President Carter's campaign. He also guided the successful no-on-9 campaign against Howard Jarvis' second tax revolt last June.
- **Fred Nicholas.** A Beverly Hills attorney, Nicholas has been McCarthy's Southern California chairman for the past six years.
- **Max Palevsky.** A multimillionaire, Palevsky has been a longtime supporter of liberal Democratic candidates. He has been active in support of the Berman organization.
- **Richard Silberman.** The former state finance director became active in politics through his association with Alan Cranston and Jerry Brown. Based in San Diego, his ties in the business world have made him an important fund-raiser.
- **Blaine Quick.** A San Diego investor and developer, Quick helped out in all of Governor Brown's campaigns.
- **Lew Wasserman.** As chairman of the board of MCA, Incorporated, in Beverly Hills, Wasserman is considered one of the most important names in California both as a fund-raiser and as a contributor. He can provide important access to the entertainment industry.

Ethnic dollars

With the rise of special-interest groups, California's ethnic communities are attempting to extend their influence through dollars as well as through numbers of voters. In the Mexican-American community, southern Democratic Party chairman David Lizarraga and restaurateurs Frank and Lucy Casado have been active fund-raisers, as have Irene Tovar and Leo Gallegos, both assistants for Governor Brown. San Francisco architect Tom Hsieh has brought Asian money into the party and has been very helpful to Cranston's campaign. Kenji Ishizaki and Mas Fukai, both in Los Angeles, are also leading fund-raisers in the Asian community.

Dr. Ernest Bates, a black neurosurgeon in San Francisco, has raised large sums of money from other black doctors. Gay money has poured into the Democratic Party with the help of David Goodstein (editor of the gay newspaper *The Advocate)*, along with attorney Sheldon Andelson and real estate broker Gayle Wilson, both of Los Angeles.

Donors and committees

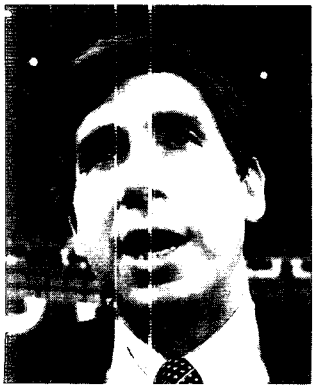
What qualifies as a major donation depends on a campaign's budget. The Fair Political Practices Commission considers a major donor to be anyone who contributes $5,000 or more in a calendar year. Some big-time fund-raisers will give that figure a polite sniff and consider a more respectable figure to be in the neighborhood of $10,000 to $25,000 per person.

Identifying major donors only through FPPC reports can be deceptive. The reason for this is that the law allows an individual to become a "major donor committee" if he or she cumulatively contributes or loans $5,000 or more in a calendar year to candidates or committees. This allows a contributor to remain somewhat anonymous. One fund-raiser admits that this is primarily a bookkeeping transaction that allows an individual donor to make a number of large contributions to a candidate under different titles.

Despite the broadening base of special-interest donors to the Democratic Party, its chief source of traditional support has been a relative handful of contributors who are white, male and Jewish. One major fund-raiser explains: "The Democratic Party is dying. The only thing that hasn't changed within its structure is that the liberal Jewish community has been and still is the backbone. If the Jewish liberal community didn't give, then there would not be a Democratic Party."

But many of the traditional large donors are no longer emptying their own pockets. Their support is still sought because of the prominence of their names and the people they attract, but they no longer have to give large sums to maintain their clout within the party. Thus, while the myth persists that big-name donors are still giving large amounts, the reality is that most of them have turned primarily to fundraising — making use of their business contacts to raise other people's money for their favorite candidates.

An active fund-raiser makes this point: "The importance of Lew Wasserman as a donor is the myth. The reality is that one of the largest contributors to Governor Brown's 1978 and 1980 campaigns was a 31-year-old grocer from Fresno."


Kantor

Krajewski

Silberman

Manatt

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It would be an endless task trying to name all of the people in the Democrats' major-donor category. But here are some of them:

Ansel Adams, the renowned photographer who has helped candidates by donating his photographs for auctions; **Irving Azoff,** manager of the Eagles, the rock group which performs for liberal candidates; **J. G. Boswell,** head of the state's No. 1 agribusiness corporation, who often contributes to both sides in an election; **Jim Bouskos,** a grocery store owner in Fresno and Mountain View; **Eli Broad,** chairman and chief executive of Kaufman and Broad, one of the nation's largest builders; **Jack Brooks,** part-owner of the Oakland Raiders, chairman of Fremont Bank and former real estate developer; **Philip DiNapoli,** heir to DiNapoli Packing and a major San Jose developer; **Cornelius Dutcher,** Southern California inventor and big-time contributor; **Harvey Furgatch,** member of the Horse Racing Commission and leading contractor in San Diego; **Ann Getty,** arts patron and prominent San Francisco hostess; **Arthur (Bud) Harwood,** Northern California lumber executive, of Harwood Investment Company; **Martin Harmon,** owner of Auburn Holding Company in Auburn and a chain of nursing homes, who became politically active in William Matson Roth's campaign for governor; **Jack Holland,** Bay Area independent oil producer, especially involved in Berman's campaign; **Pat Kruer,** president of Patrick Development in San Diego and Orange County, who was active in Cranston's campaign.

Others include **Mark Richards,** Modesto inventor and businessman; **Tom Rubin,** advertising agency owner in San Francisco, a Cranston activist; **Jerry Rule,** Modesto developer and businessman; **Madeleine Haas Russell,** San Francisco Levi-Strauss heiress; **Ed Rutherford,** a rancher in Brawley; **Nathan Shapell,** chairman of the Little Hoover Commission and owner of Shapell Industries in Los Angeles; **Lionel Steinberg,** a rancher and liberal activist in Riverside County; **Barry Sterling,** attorney and vintner in Sonoma County; **Jeff Wald,** personal manager and husband of singer Helen Reddy; and **Larry Weinberg,** part owner of the Portland (Oregon) Trailblazers basketball team and an active Berman supporter.

What is the attraction in the political money game for people who deal with millions of dollars in their everyday lives? There certainly isn't much that politics can offer them that they can't buy for themselves. The reasons for their involvement seem to boil down to some basic human drives:

Ego. It's flattering to be courted and stroked by a public figure. Having one's name appear frequently on finance committees and mentioned in connection with private strategy dinners often is a signal to one's local community of both affluence and influence. It helps contributors attract and maintain business contacts. It's also nice to drop into a conversation a phrase such as, "As I was saying to the senator, just yesterday at lunch . . ."

Ideology. Many backers support candidates who defend a private cause or general political leaning. Basic party loyalty sometimes plays a key role.

Friendship. Frequently a donor's personal relationship with a fund-raiser is important. Large checks are written in exchange for maintaining friendly business ties, returning favors or building up a few personal IOUs.

Amusement. For many people with money, politics is a new toy. It is a game in which the wealthy can enter at ground level and be elevated to a heady environment for what, to them, might be considered petty cash.

Exclusivity. There also is the fraternal feeling of belonging to a somewhat exclusive club. A manifestation of this was the "Green Caucus" formed by San Franciscan Adolph Schumann as a humorous gesture to represent the interests of major contributors.

Quid pro quo. Finally, there is what may be called "pragmatic money." Contributions can mean influence for donors on legislation affecting their interests or in grey areas of government regulation. Many donors obviously feel that they get a decent rate of return for their contributions.

Future trends in fundraising are being defined by a number of factors: changes in election laws, increasing costs of campaigns and competition among special-interest groups. Here are a few of the new trends:

Everybody is a fund-raiser. Finding new sources of money is vital to the Democrats, and everybody is welcome to try his or her hand at attracting contributors. This means working with friendly special-interest groups to develop links within their constituencies, seeking out people who have successful new businesses, making more creative use of finance committees.

Economic trends. Fund-raiser Chuck Manatt feels that new dollars will come from interests affected by changing economic trends. For example, if major housing issues are confronting the Legislature, then leaders in the building and construction industries will be likely sources of campaign funds. As economic and political issues change, so will the major donors.

Single-issue politics. The emergence of political action committees and increasing reliance on lobbyists for special-interest causes is making fund raising more difficult, according to Richard Silberman and other major operatives. "Before, individuals gave to a candidate out of ideological loyalty, both liberal and conservative," Silberman says. "But the stress is no longer on the good of humanity or broader social issues. Now, giving is as fragmented as the special-interest groups. And more frequently, contributions are associated with a single issue or a particular piece of legislation. The result is, the number of people who can raise big dollars is reduced. Political fund raising is not institutionalized."

Fund-raising consulting firms. These firms are guns for hire. Some provide lists of active donors and will do target mailing, although candidates usually supply their own mailing lists. These firms also organize dinners and special events, often for a percentage of the funds raised. These firms can help inexperienced candidates by providing them with lists they might not have access to, and they can free candidates and staff to worry about other aspects of a campaign. But there are disadvantages too. One politician explains: "It's all lost money to pay these firms. It's a huge hype that they make a difference in how much you raise. They do make life easier. But they don't raise you any money that you and your staff can't raise."

Concerts. One of the easiest, most profitable fundraising techniques; a candidate can get enormous returns for very little effort.

Mass mailings. The $10 and $15 donations add up. But a major cause of the increase in campaign spending is the paper and mailing costs of such efforts.

The quest for campaign contributions conjures up the images of an endlessly sucking vacuum. As campaign costs rise, there is a frantic chase for more contributors to provide more money for more television commercials and more mass mailings. There is no cut-off valve. No campaign ever thinks it has enough money.

This is an era in which a quarter of a million dollars is being spent to win a job that pays less than $30,000 a year. Unless limits are placed on campaign spending, the politics of the 1980s will devour any new contributions that might be uncovered. Tradition will play a minor role in the search for dollars, and the emphasis will continue to be on new faces, new money sources and new fundraising techniques. The essential element in any serious campaign will be the creative political fund-raiser.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Republican enemy number one

CONRAD — of the Times

By DAVID OGUL

During the last California gubernatorial campaign, the hundreds of newspaper articles written about the Jerry Brown-Evelle Younger race probably didn't have as much impact as a single cartoon. That drawing, from the pen of Paul Conrad, showed Younger introducing himself to voters: "I'm Evelle Younger. I'm running for governor's pension." Reporters are limited by the requirement that they stick to the facts. Cartoonists can deal in ridicule, invective and sarcasm.

The 56-year-old Paul Conrad, generally considered the premier political cartoonist in California (and perhaps the nation), has a chance to inject long needles into public figures six times a week — and he rarely muffs an opportunity. Conrad is the staff cartoonist for the mammoth *Los Angeles Times*, but his work also appears via syndicate in papers throughout the state and nation.

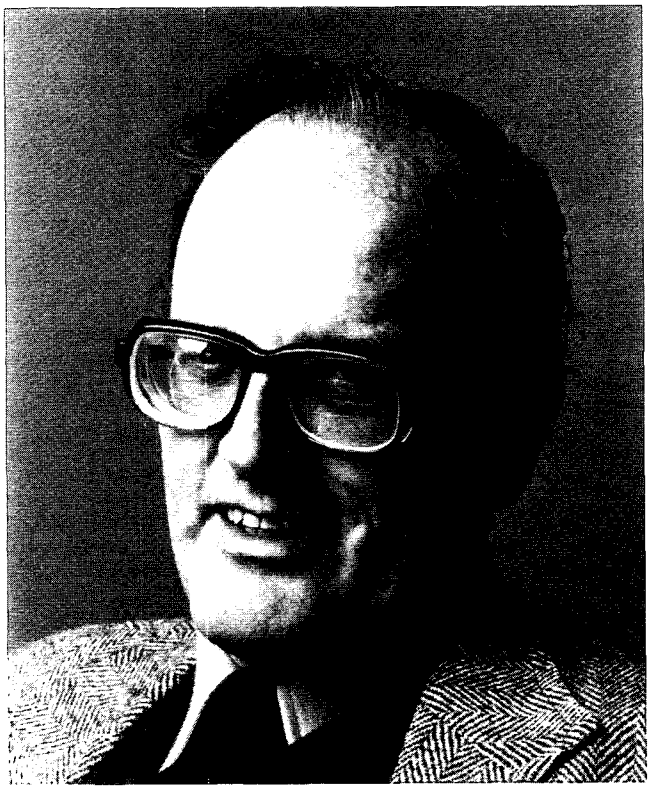
Before the liberal Conrad joined the *Times*, the newspaper had a reputation as one of the most conservative publications in the country. Until Otis Chandler modernized the *Times* by bringing people like Conrad on board, the newspaper served primarily as a campaign vehicle for the Republican Party. "I first saw the *Times* when in 1954 my wife and I were out here on our honeymoon," Conrad recalls. "I thought it was the worst sheet I'd ever seen."

But 10 years later Conrad received a phone call from *Times* editor Nick Williams asking him to apply for a job. Williams finally convinced Conrad, then working as political cartoonist for *The Denver Post*, to fly out for an interview. He was met at the airport by Williams and *Times* publisher Otis Chandler. "I had barely stepped off the plane when Chandler told me to look at the paper for the last three months. He said, 'This is what we're doing and where we're going.' I was impressed."

The *Times* was definitely changing in the mid-'60s, just starting to staff foreign and national bureaus. Conrad was pleased: "There's an excitement in working for a paper interested in hard news. They had a bit of a Republican hangover, but they were getting better, and they gave me the freedom to do what I wanted to do."

That freedom has provided Conrad's professional strength, but it also has proved embarrassing at times to Chandler and his editors. One of Conrad's favorite targets was (and is) Ronald Reagan. The *Times* received so many complaints from its Republican readers about Conrad's treatment of Reagan that Chandler invoked what Conrad describes as the "Reagan Disclaimer," — a statement on the editorial page which said, in effect, that the editorial cartoons did not necessarily reflect the editorial viewpoint of the newspaper.

David Ogul is a free-lance writer in San Diego.



"I thought it was chicken of the *Times* to print it and I told them so," Conrad says. "They, in a juvenile manner, tried to separate themselves from the editorial cartoons. It was a copout." But Conrad continued his attacks on Reagan and continued to anger Republicans accustomed to finding only conservative gospel in the *Times*. Finally, in 1974, his cartoons were moved from the editorial page to the "op-ed" page where a variety of viewpoints are presented.

Conrad continues to hammer away at Reagan: When the Republican Party platform failed to support the Equal Rights Amendment, he portrayed Reagan's face as the posterior of an elephant with the caption: "End of an ERA." He received stacks of hate mail after publication of a cartoon in which Reagan's head was tied down on a flatbed truck, captioned: "Removing another nuclear war head." "There's not much that we agree about," Conrad says of Reagan. "I agree with him on (draft) registration (Reagan is opposed), but I'll tell you, it's rare."

Molding opinion

Conrad's strong style and huge audience give him the power to mold public opinion far more effectively than any editorial writer. For example, his frequent and sometimes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

savage attacks on the Los Angeles Police Department were favorites with a coalition which tried unsuccessfully to get a citizens' review board on the ballot. He is, understandably, no favorite with LAPD officers. Lieutenant Dan Cook, the police department's press relations officer, explains: "I realize that as a police officer I'm a member of the world's smallest minority, but most of his cartoons are unfair. His cartoons about us are extremely bad for morale. He gives the public such a slanted and one-sided view, it's not fair to the officers."

Among his peers, Conrad fares better. "He is probably the best cartoonist in America right now," says cartoonist Bill Shore of the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*. "He is consistent, his graphics are always strong, and his ideas are always strong. He also has a strong sense of outrage at the injustices in our society. Most cartoonists, when they see a Conrad, say, 'I wish I'd said that. I wish I'd done it.' "

An early start

Before he came to the *Times*, Conrad spent 13 years at *The Denver Post*. A native of Iowa, he has been drawing since he was 3 years old. "My father could have been a great watercolor artist, but he went into the railroad. He encouraged us to draw, and we had the capability." Conrad's brother is now a commercial artist, working in Denver.

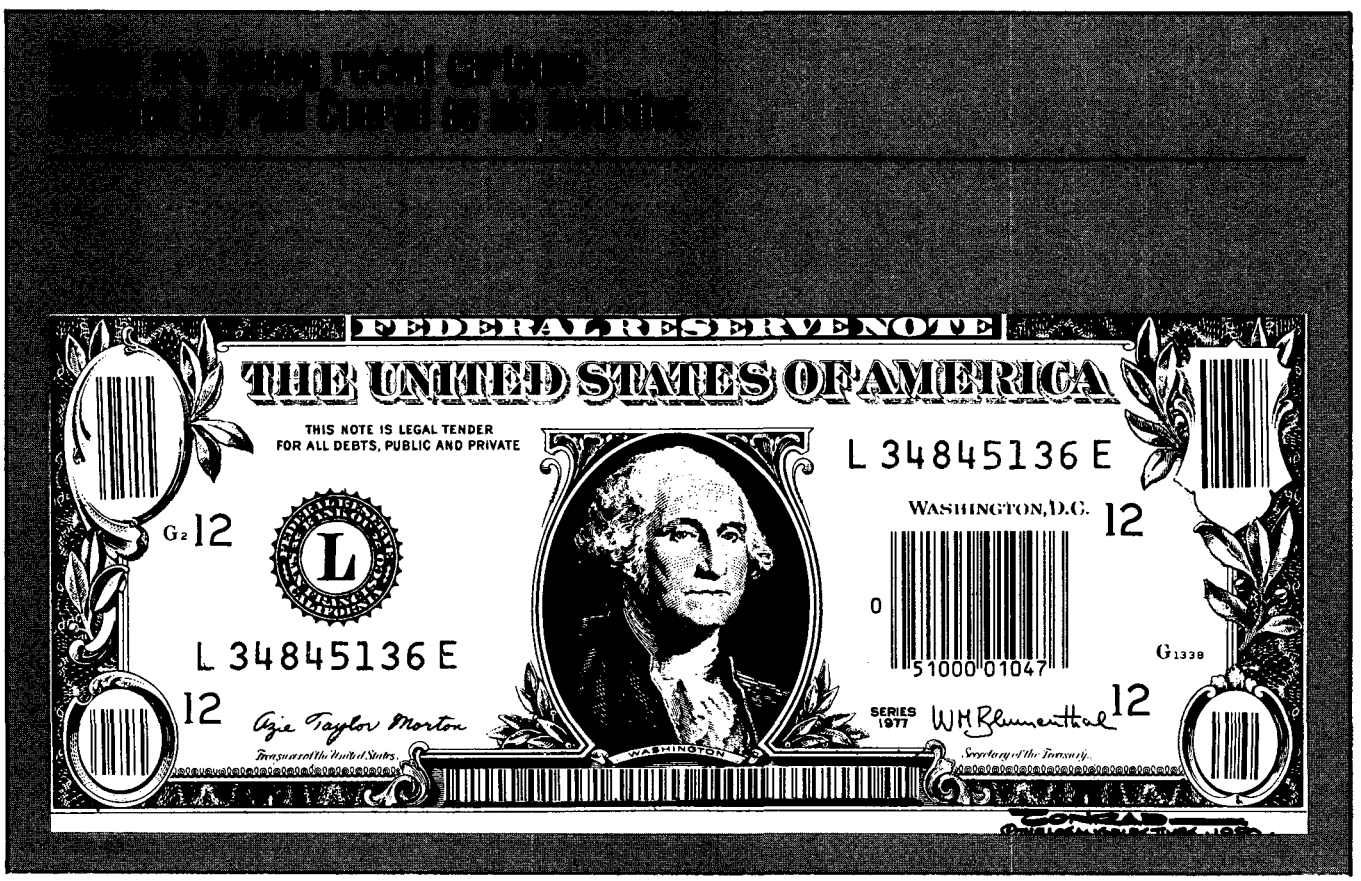
At the University of Iowa, Conrad majored in art while doing cartoons for the student newspaper. "The drawing aspect is about 5 percent of what you're doing," he says. "The other 95 percent is the idea, and knowing yourself philosophically. It's really like writing editorials, but I can't write, so I draw." Is he ever unhappy with his own efforts? "There are several I'd like to do over," he admits. "The impact just wasn't there. There are a couple of cartoons which, if I could find them, I'd eat them."

Those cartoons concerned the late Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. One of King's messages during the 1960s was that the government was neglecting the cities while financing the war in Vietnam. Conrad was opposed to the war, but he felt the government could fund both the war and the needs of the cities, and he drew two cartoons which ridiculed King for his beliefs. He regrets them now, he says.

A skeptic's views

Conrad's views on the state of the nation are as skeptical when he articulates them as when he illustrates them. For example:

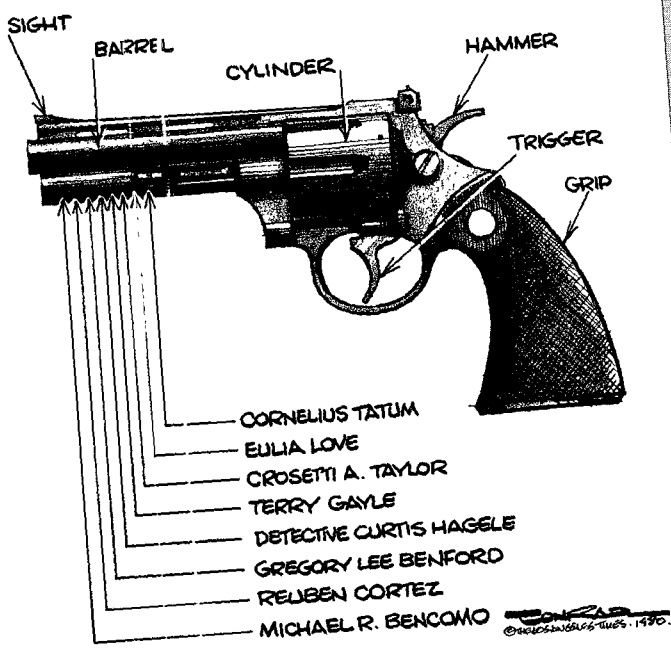
- **Government:** "This system is just not working any more. With Watergate, Nixon, Johnson and this guy Carter. It really kind of broke down with Nixon. He brought in his gang of thieves from California, and Kissinger. Then came Carter and he brought his clowns. You have a Congress sitting on its hands. You have a Supreme Court that's really a legislature. We're going in 80 different directions."
- **The media:** "Right now, television is electing our politicians, and television is the worst thing for the democratic process. Television is a three-dimensional medium with a one-dimensional approach."
- **Richard Nixon:** "He was one of the greatest mistakes this country has ever made. The people around him thought it was Nixon's government, and it's not. It's the people's government — at least the last time I read about it."
- **Governor Brown:** "Jerry Brown is asking the right questions, but he hasn't come up with the right answers yet. Unfortunately, he comes out as a flake. The questions he asks are marvelous, but he's not answering any of them. If he is, I haven't heard any of them. People are perceiving him negatively because he's bringing us the bad news. It's like that Greek saying about killing the messenger. I hope he runs again."
- **Senator Hayakawa:** "If you want the disgrace of the state, you've got it in Hayakawa. I don't care who runs against him (Hayakawa), as long as they beat him."

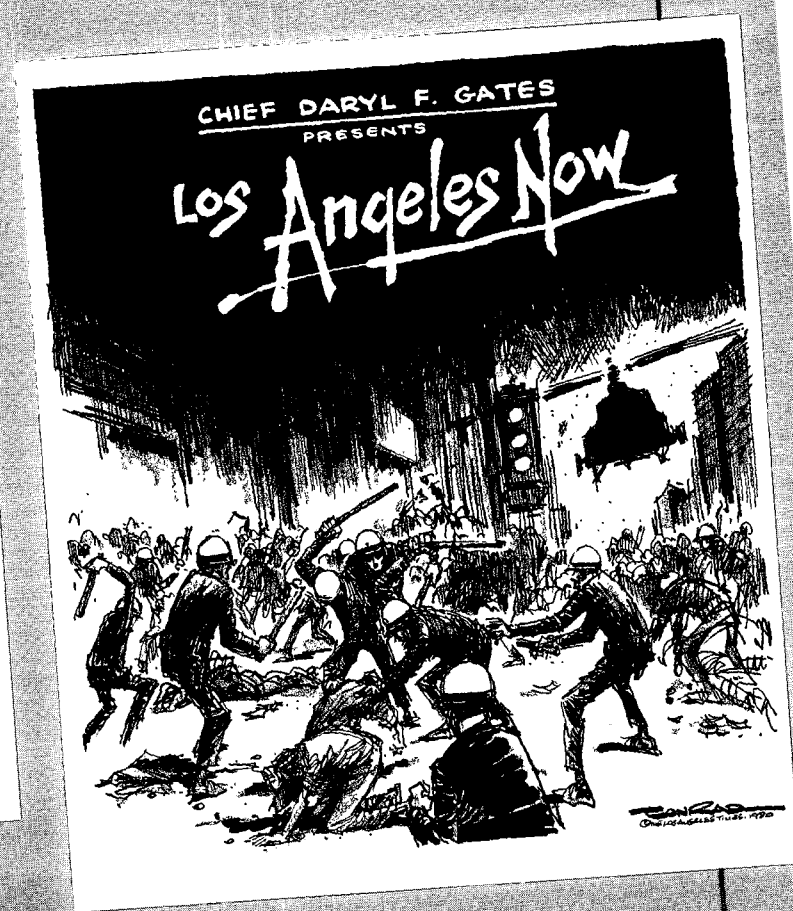


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WELCOME TO THE $18 MILLION CRYSTAL CATHEDRAL

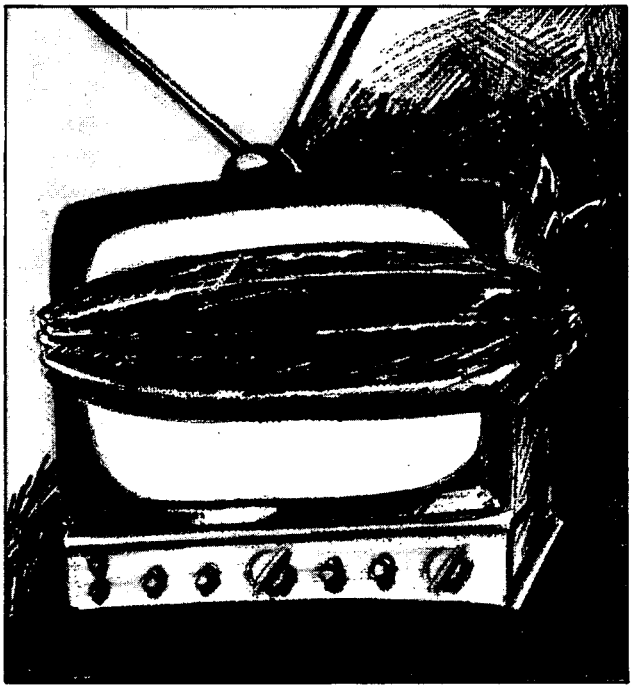
OFFICIAL L.A.P.D. REVOLVER





LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Failure of the media to cover the state campaigns



By TONY QUINN

It finally happened: They called an election and nobody came. A few million people did go to the polls in California on November 4th, but mostly out of habit and with no real enthusiasm. The election just concluded was probably the most dispirited in a generation, and it received less coverage in the California media than any election in years.

That's surprising because 1980 produced some unexpected results, including a presidential landslide everyone thought was going to be a squeaker. But carping about the quality of the candidates and the vacuous nature of the campaign dominated the news, even as the candidates were making their final pitches.

For Californians, this was an almost-invisible campaign. Hardly a bumper sticker or a campaign button could be found, and the major presidential contenders treated California as though it were somewhere in the middle of Asia. Night after night the candidates trudged through the industrial states, with an occasional foray into the South, their only presence in California their talking faces on the television screen.

Not until the last week did Carter or Reagan make more than a perfunctory bow to the state, and Carter canceled his only California stop. As a result, Californians were largely left out of the presidential campaign. And because of the lack of any close statewide races, this election year passed with minimal notice in California.

Several reasons are apparent for this political isolation of America's largest state. The electronic media showed a marked disinterest in California politics this year. It was assumed there was no presidential race here, and the timing of the California primary left the state out of the parties' selection process.

The meaningless primary

The problem began back at the primary. In other election years, California batted clean-up in the presidential sweepstakes. Both Goldwater's and McGovern's nominations hinged on the California primary outcome. But presidential campaigns are two-year excursions now, and by the time California's election rolls around in June, the race is mostly over.

That was certainly the case in 1980. Ronald Reagan won the GOP nomination in New Hampshire, and everything else was anticlimactic. Given Reagan's Republican popularity in California, it probably would not have mattered when the Republican primary took place, but that was certainly not the case on the Democratic side. Edward Kennedy won a primary that was largely meaningless in June, because the Democratic race was decided in March and April when President Carter ran up his big totals. Had the California primary been in March, it would have been pivotal in the Democratic contest. But coming in June, Kennedy's win, although impressive, was like catching a salmon after it has spawned.

What began in the primary continued into the general election. Since Carter was an obvious second choice for California Democrats, and Reagan the overwhelming favorite of Republicans, everyone assumed Reagan would carry California in a landslide. Because so little national focus was on California, the state's media tended to neglect election coverage too. Without the physical presence of the candidates, there were few local angles to the national campaign, and California news editors found little to report.

Just 10 days before the election, KNBC in Los Angeles announced it was closing its Sacramento bureau. This leaves only one regional television station with a Sacramento bureau: KRON in San Francisco. The news conference room at the state Capitol once bulged with reporters and TV cameras when the politicians spoke to the people; for most press conferences now, it is like a cavern.

The KNBC decision is a reflection of viewer priorities as judged by news editors. The people really are not interested in state government or politics, editors believe; thus there is little reason to waste time and money reporting it. The KNBC decision accentuates a trend of the 1970s away from Capitol reporting, a trend altered only in the short period before and

Tony Quinn co-authored California Public Administration *and is a frequent contributor to the* Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

after the passage of Proposition 13.

Howard Rosenberg of the *Los Angeles Times* called the KNBC departure "sad and symbolic" and said the Sacramento bureau's demise "especially dramatizes the low priority of state government in news coverage. Although critically important to the populace, state government has never been considered sexy enough to merit a lot of attention in the news, certainly not the attention it deserves."

Untold stories

Because of the lack of Capitol coverage, two significant stories in Sacramento are unfolding without a clear understanding among voters of their significance:

- **The effects of the bitter battle** for Assembly speaker. The warfare between Leo McCarthy and Howard Berman could threaten to undo many of the reforms that rescued California government from special-interest control two decades ago. The strong Assembly speakership, starting with Jesse Unruh, has had the effect of insulating the Legislature from direct control by lobbyists for interest groups. As long as the speaker remains strong, lobbyists have to deal with an independent power broker who can direct and kill legislation. But, the McCarthy-Berman fracas may result in a weakened speakership over the next few years. The result could be passage of many questionable bills which a stronger speaker could have killed.
- **The arms race** in campaign spending. The speaker's battle overshadowed all the races for Assembly this year and directly triggered unprecedented election spending. The Fair Political Practices Commission estimates the amount of money raised and spent in this year's campaign was 50 percent more than the amount just two years ago. As much as $30 million went into legislative races alone in 1980. A larger-than-usual percentage of those millions of dollars came from political action committees of various interest groups. The special interests were shell-shocked this year by the demands for money from office seekers, particularly those tied into the speakership battle.

Most unsettling of all is the fact that the political arms race took place almost entirely outside the public's view. Most voters get their political information from television, and there is virtually no coverage of the money aspects of political campaigning on television news broadcasts. Newspapers paid some attention to campaign funding but mostly in the form of long lists of contributors and occasional articles on total amounts raised. Almost nothing was written or said about the impact on the system of millions of special-interest dollars pouring into campaigns.

In the politicians' defense, it must be noted that huge campaign war chests are essential for communicating with the voters. A quarter-century ago, press releases, newspaper ads and billboards were the tools of local and legislative campaigns. Now it is costly direct mail and, where feasible, television.

It would be inaccurate to say there was no coverage of elections in California, but too often the concentration was on style and tone of the races, not on substantive issues. And far too much attention is paid to the political oddities: The most heavily covered congressional campaign in the state was that of Ku Klux Klansman Tom Metzger in his hopeless challenge of entrenched Congressman Clair Burgener in San Diego. It is true that Metzger was the first Klansman to run for office in California, but he won a nomination no one else wanted against a popular Republican in the second-most Republican district in the state. Yet the *Los Angeles Times* took a special poll in the district; other papers gave Metzger's race nearly daily coverage, and some national media treated the race as if it were the most significant one in the state.

The Metzger race clearly filled a vacuum; outside of the Assembly campaigns related to the speakership fight, there were few closely contested elections. Only five state Senate seats were doubtful races, and only about eight of the 43 congressional districts. The two major ballot propositions, Propositions 8 and 10, attracted little attention, and the U.S. Senate race was a bust from the start. Paul Gann's candidacy frightened off other more substantial GOP challengers to U.S. Senator Alan Cranston by using rumors of a $3 million campaign fund which never materialized. Gann himself turned out to be one of the least effective senatorial candidates in California history.

The Cranston race illustrates another aspect of the problem of press coverage of politics: the ability of a strong incumbent to manipulate the media. Cranston was never tested in his quest for a third term because the hapless Gann could neither raise money nor articulate issues. But the kind of hard-hitting press exposure that might have better focused the choice was missing also. The sole campaign "event" of the Senate race was a five-way debate involving Cranston, Gann and the minor-party candidates, but it was scheduled against the deciding game of the World Series. No commercial television station carried it, and the few public stations that did mostly delayed broadcast. Instead of Cranston having to defend his record, the debate bogged down in a five-way discussion with the minor candidates. Not surprisingly, a few days after this "debate" Gann admitted his campaign was hopeless and it all but expired.

Eroding the process

In her book on the 1974 governor's race in California, *Phantom Politics*, Mary Ellen Leary made the point that television serves to erode rather than support the democratic process and tends to distort the political campaign. "Television intrudes its own program priorities, its entertainment standards, its cult of excitement, its economic pressures and its merchandising formulae upon the election process," she wrote. As true as this was in 1974, it is even more the case now. Television stations will quickly sell a candidate air time for a paid political announcement but rarely give him or her a few minutes of free time to discuss issues on a news broadcast.

Leary also pointed to the trend of local television stations to the "action news" or "eyewitness news" format. News programs that were once straightforward recitations of facts now feature stream-of-consciousness "happy talk," in which every event is reduced to a breezy 60-second report. Entertainment has replaced information on many TV news shows, and politics does not fit into the new format.

Although it often misses the ebb and flow of campaigns, the print media does a somewhat better job than television does with state races. Most smaller papers follow their local legislative and congressional contests, and most metropolitan dailies do a creditable job on the major races. The two San Francisco papers devoted a fair amount of space to the closest Bay Area races this fall. The *Los Angeles Times* covered two close board-of-supervisor contests and two bitter House races in some detail. Some newspapers even tried to be innovative; the *Sacramento Bee* sent political editor Martin Smith to four widely dispersed parts of the nation to test opinion on the presidential contest, and ran lengthy analyses of his findings.

But these were the exceptions, not the rule. For the most part, the media treated the California campaign as a non-event, although candidates spent more money trying to attract the attention of state voters than ever before in history.

MasterCard and **Visa** may be used to purchase subscriptions and books from *California Journal Press*. When ordering, send just the card number — not the card itself — and we'll take care of the rest of the paperwork. Send your orders to the *Press* at 1617 10th St., Sacramento 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pete Wilson's goal: game of one-on-one with Curb

This is one of a series of articles on possible 1982 gubernatorial candidates.

By GEORGE E. CONDON JR.

Pete Wilson has a favorite one-liner these days. In opening his speeches, the San Diego mayor often smiles and says, "I ran for governor in 1978. (Pause) You may not remember."

His audiences may indeed have forgotten, but Wilson has not. He remembers a long campaign that fizzled on poor planning, near-anonymity, red ink and Proposition 13. And, while he jokes today about the electorate forgetting him, Wilson still recalls the embarrassment of receiving only 9 percent of the vote and finishing fourth in that year's Republican gubernatorial primary.

Preparing for an election still two years away, Wilson is trying to make sure there will not be similar embarrassment in a second race in 1982 — a race he assures all who listen that he is definitely going to make. There is no doubt that Wilson wants to run for governor. But there is considerable doubt that he can overcome his electoral handicaps and be elected.

It is that doubt that Wilson hopes to overcome with his early sprint toward campaign respectability. Without that respectability, Wilson realizes he has no chance to overcome Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb, the early Republican favorite who brings better name identification and a better ability to raise money into the race.

Wilson's strategy is to demonstrate enough early strength to keep other potential candidates out of the race and set up a one-on-one battle with Curb. "We think our best shot is to be alone against Curb," said one Wilson strategist recently.

George E. Condon Jr. is a political writer for the San Diego Union.

"We have always gotten along well with the news media — both reporters and editors across the state — and we think the news media is itching to get a shot at Mike Curb. Curb will have a lot more money, but the media will go after him with a vengeance. There's a sense of blood on him, like sharks going after prey in the water."

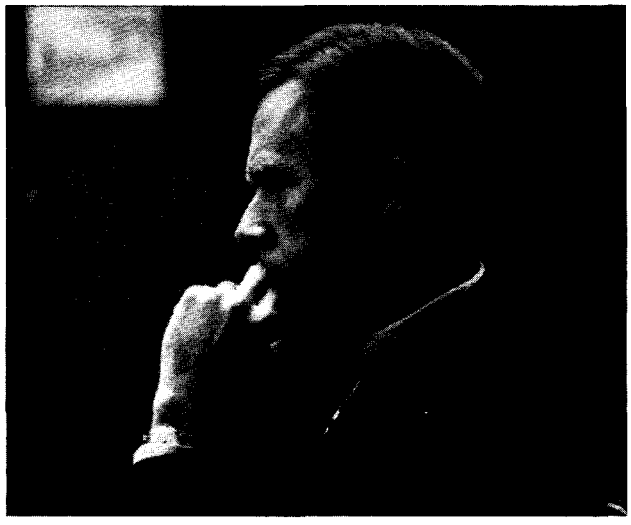
The potential challengers

The Wilson camp currently believes that other potential candidates will avoid the race. They predict that state Senator Kenneth L. Maddy of Fresno will play it safe. Their reasoning: Some shrewd moves by Curb have stripped Maddy of his former access to big money from growers. That makes the risk of losing his seat in the Senate for another losing gubernatorial venture more than Maddy can stand.

They believe George Deukmejian will run for re-election as attorney general, and they discount challenges by lesser known Republicans. Challenges by either Deukmejian or Maddy could derail Wilson's bid.

But that, to Wilson, is a long-term risk. More immediately, Wilson must prove he is no longer plagued by the problems that befell his 1978 campaign. His weak showing was ascribed variously to poor organization, a less-than-exciting personality, his opposition to Proposition 13 and the as-yet-unchallenged claim that no viable statewide candidacy can be launched from San Diego's sheltered confines.

"We're breaking out of the cul-de-sac," insists the 47-year-old San Diego mayor. He likes to cite a recent California Poll by Mervin Field showing Wilson's name identity relatively high for a San Diegan: "In 1977, when we started this thing last time, having talked to every service club between here and Oregon, I had a grand total of 12 percent name identification among Republicans statewide. The last Field Poll showed it is 55 percent.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"What delighted me even more was that, in addition to that name recognition, they also measured approval and of the 55 percent, 52 percent were favorable and only 3 percent unfavorable, says Wilson. (A recent private poll commissioned by Wilson indicated that the mayor begins with a much better positive-to-negative image than Curb.)

Hoping to build on that base, Wilson acknowledges he must gain more entrée into the world of big political donors, a group already very familiar with Curb. With that need in mind, Wilson has been spending much of his time away from San Diego and on the highways that take him to the corporate boardrooms and business luncheons that he hopes will pay off in big donations for a 1982 race.

Wilson has devoted much of his early campaign efforts to San Francisco; his strategists consider that city a Wilson stronghold second only to San Diego. His biggest problem, however, remains Los Angeles County, the county where California elections are normally decided.

"I think Pete's overcome the attitude that a San Diegan can't win," said one influential Republican close to both Wilson and Curb. "Whether Pete is that San Diegan he has yet to prove. He has good support in San Francisco and San Diego, but he is weak as hell in LA and that's an awful lot of the ball game," he says. "If you allow Curb to take Los Angeles, what are you going to do?"

This Republican, who believes Curb does not relish a Wilson candidacy against him, says Curb will win easily because of his big advantage in raising money "unless Pete has learned from his mistakes of '78, when he spent the money he had all wrong."

Larry Thomas, a 1978 campaign aide to Wilson who now works for Bechtel Corporation in San Francisco, readily agrees that "too much money was spent (in 1978) trying to build an organization in a state too big to be organized." That was a mistake, Wilson agrees, and he plans to spend his money on more — and better — television this time out. Wilson also seems to have learned something about headline-making. At a Sacramento news conference in mid-October, he threatened to sue if the Legislature and Governor Brown did not reverse themselves on a new workers compensation law which increased some benefits but contained no appropriation to local governments to pay for the increases. Wilson — flanked by Kirk West of California Taxpayers Association and Denny Valentine of the County Supervisors Association — called the law a deliberate violation of the constitutional spending limits approved in Proposition 4 last year.

Wilson and his advisers believe he made another major mistake in 1978: trying to accept most of the service-club invitations he received. Wilson hopes a "more reasonable" speaking schedule in the future will help him overcome the one criticism that still nettles him: that he is a lackluster campaigner and speaker. "I frankly don't buy that," he says. "I find the response to me is quite fine."

The criticism gets under Wilson's skin. Wilson complained recently to the *Los Angeles Times* about a story suggesting he was boring. When a *San Diego Union* article again revived the question, Wilson wanted an aide to put together a list of people who recently had attended Wilson speeches and would testify they were good speeches.

Wilson will only concede that his 1978 speeches lacked fire: "I think some of the early speeches were too long. I think they were too serious. I've found that people are tired and they have a limited attention span and they appreciate a little humor."

Reconciling Reaganites

One group that sat on its hands — or opposed Wilson — during the 1978 campaign is still not ready to give Wilson standing ovations. That is the hard core of Reagan supporters who find it hard to forgive Wilson for his ardent advocacy of Gerald Ford's candidacy in 1976. Wilson found it hard to live down that part of his past when he ran for governor in 1978. It is something he has worked on this year.

For example, he served on two advisory committees for the GOP presidential nominee, agreed to serve as a surrogate campaigner for Reagan and promised early to help deliver San Diego County to the Reagan-Bush ticket. (He succeeded.)

Wilson's involvement in 1980 campaigns did not stop at the presidential level. "He's been more political than he has been in the past about key people in key races," says former aide Thomas. For one congressional candidate in the Bay Area, Dennis McQuaid of Novato, Wilson sent letters to all voters in the Fifth District who had supported him in 1978. "He raised $8,000 with just that single letter," says former aide Thomas.

Acknowledging he has been more active in partisan races this year than before 1978, Wilson says of the candidates he has been helping, "I think they'll be grateful."

Two years from now, Wilson will get a chance to find out just how grateful they are. Their "gratitude level" will be one factor in determining whether Wilson can indeed break out of that San Diego cul-de-sac.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE QUESTION THAT ENDANGERED HUEY JOHNSON'S JOB:

Should California act to restrict population growth?

PAUL DUGINSKI

By KERRY DRAGER

Huey Johnson has never been indecisive or a mincer of words. Soon after he became Governor Brown's Resources Agency secretary in 1977, Johnson promised to make decisions "that will probably lead to my early demise." It's important, he said, that cabinet members be "risk takers."

When Johnson stood up to speak to the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., last August, he probably wasn't planning to create the furor which followed his address. The theme was a familiar one, a favorite with Johnson: that society should plan for the inevitable pressures of expanding population on a limited supply of natural resources. But his discussion of possible solutions — immigration limits, expanded abortion services, tax penalties for large families, cutbacks in low-income housing — produced howls of protests and demands that Governor Brown fire him.

A majority of the state Assembly, two-thirds of the Senate, legislative black and Hispanic caucuses and others charged that Johnson's "elitist" and "insensitive" statements merited immediate discharge. Other Johnson critics — persons who dislike his views on water and forestry policies, on Tahoe preservation and on federal land use — were happy to join the get-Johnson chorus.

Kerry Drager is a free-lance writer in Sacramento and a frequent contributor to the Journal.

The beleaguered secretary returned to Sacramento and met with ethnic groups to explain and to apologize. Governor Brown, reportedly angry at first, decided to let the controversy "simmer along a bit." After the first well-publicized protests died down, mail to the governor's office overwhelmingly favored Johnson's views. And at year's end, Huey Johnson is still in the governor's cabinet.

Nearly lost in all the controversy was the point of Johnson's remarks: the need for understanding of "how the limits of our natural resources have been and will be stressed by population pressures." The subject is hardly new. While doing so with less flair and more tact, officials throughout California have been voicing concern over the effect of population growth on housing, water, parks and recreation, energy and every other resource.

"We have grown up in boom times, 200 years of no limits," Johnson insists. "We all have our heads in the sand, still believing that we can go booming on forever. But the limits are descending, be it air pollution or water quality threats. These are all indicators of carrying-capacity problems.

"Immediate critics of my position view my desire to initiate a public dialogue over the population-resources issue as slighting or neglecting the legitimate needs of the urban poor and ethnic minorities. These critics fail to understand that, unless they appreciate the reality that we all live in a finite world with unavoidable limits, these populations they represent will continue to suffer the most from inequitable

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

distribution of the wealth that comes from our resource base."

Johnson acknowledges the sensitive nature of the subject. However, he says, it's all part of the job: "It shouldn't be a popularity contest to run resource allocation or resource regulation. So you're bound to create some unhappy folks." Population growth was an issue that he felt had to be raised, and Governor Brown was "very supportive," he says. "He was not angry, as was reported."

Johnson was not without his defenders. Judith Kunofsky, the Sierra Club's population and growth-policy specialist, says he was merely resurrecting an environmental issue that had been cut of the limelight in recent years. "An end to population growth," Kunofsky says "has to be a part of any long-term solution to environmental, economic and social problems." And Helen Graham, lobbyist for Zero Population Growth of California, adds: "For the first time, a top-level official of this state has spoken openly about the relationship between numbers of people and their effects on resources and all segments of California life."

Here are some of the "hot" issues Johnson raised, along with some cooler statistics and prospects for the future:

• **Housing** — The remark that sparked the most controversy probably was, "If you provide unlimited low-income housing, then you draw poor people from Vermont." Most experts say California has too little affordable housing, rather than too much, as Johnson implied. Continued population growth, authorities add, only aggravates the existing problem.

According to the state Department of Housing and Community Development, about 315,000 housing units should be built annually through 1985 to meet projected needs. More than 2 million low-income households (23 percent of all households) pay more than 25 percent of their income for housing. Half of all renters pay more than 25 percent of their income for housing. And 430,000 households (5 percent of the state's total) live in overcrowded conditions.

Most of these problems are getting worse each year, the Department of Housing reports. Households are forming faster than housing is being built, and increasing numbers of households are paying more than they can afford for housing. Overcrowding appears to be decreasing in severity, primarily due to a drop in average household size, but the percentage of persons who live in overcrowded housing is rising. About one in eight Californians (nearly 3 million) now live in overcrowded housing conditions.

If there's insufficient affordable housing now, will the situation become worse? Don Crow, chief of research and statistics for the Department of Housing, answers: "To the extent that inflation outpaces income growth, yes."

Adds Stephen Hopcraft of the California Housing Action Information Network (CHAIN): "We're in the midst of the biggest housing crisis since World War II, particularly for renters. Obviously, increased population is a problem that has to be dealt with. But Huey's solution was to cut back on low-income housing, which is precisely the wrong way to go in order to keep people out of California. It won't keep people out. It will just make it more difficult for those who live here."

• **Water** — Johnson cited a study which shows that the past 100 years have been unusually wet in the state. "Our recent drought was (more) typical," he says. "Worse droughts are certain to occur in the future. Such information shows we must develop more serious efforts to promote careful water use and extensive conservation."

According to the state Department of Water Resources, Californians use more than 40 million acre-feet of water each year. A typical family of four consumes one acre-foot annually, and the average crop in the state requires three acre-feet per acre each year. Agriculture uses about 34 million acre-feet annually, or 85 percent of all the water consumed in California.

"So growing population does not necessarily mean water shortages," says Jim McDaniel, chief of the statewide planning branch of Water Resources, "since most of the water in California is used in agriculture. Certainly there will be additional needs but the major water needs right now are in the San Joaquin Valley — in areas where the ground-water basins are being overdrafted."

Officials expect statewide water demand to increase 5 million acre-feet by the year 2000. Current needs have led to an annual 2½ million acre-foot overdraft of the state's ground water. In addition, California will lose 660,000 acre-feet a year of its Colorado River supply. The Metropolitan Water District must reduce its diversion from the Colorado River as the Central Arizona Project goes into use. Officials anticipate that by the mid-1980s.

"We need to act now to head off water shortages that otherwise will become more and more frequent and severe," Water Resources Director Ronald Robie says. "Irrigated agriculture, industries, hydroelectric energy, water-related recreation, fish and wildlife, and water-dependent aspects of our home life can continue only if we modify our wasteful ways and provide the needed additional water supply."

• **Parks and Recreation** — To ease the effects of overcrowding, most state parks are now hooked up to Ticketron. Even so, says Department of Parks and Recreation spokesman Larry Paynter, it's estimated that more than 1 million persons are turned away annually from overbooked campgrounds. At popular Seacliff State Beach, for example, 93 of every 100 requests for camping reservations were denied in 1979.

Federal wildlands in California have hardly fared better. At Desolation Wilderness, the crowd of those seeking a "wilderness experience" has resulted in a quota system that limits the number of overnight visitors. And at another U.S. Forest Service back-country area, the John Muir Wilderness, a quota system will be in effect when next spring's first backpackers hit the trail.

The most-discussed case of overuse has been that of Yosemite National Park. Yosemite Valley — only seven miles long and one mile wide — receives 1.5 million cars and 5,000 buses annually. On many summer weekends, more than 18,000 visitors pack the valley. As a result, the National Park Service has recently approved a revised management plan that charts the course of Yosemite through the end of this century. The controversial blueprint centers on returning the park to a more natural condition, but some experts say the plan is too weak to save Yosemite for future generations.

Overcrowding at California's recreation areas has created other problems as well, including crime and pollution. And, with the tight budgets of a Proposition 13 world, park officials see little relief in sight.

• **Energy** — One bright spot in the resources forecast comes from the state Energy Commission. Gary Simon, chief of the assessments division, says that the cost of electricity is getting so high that people are cutting back their use "more effectively than anyone could have guessed. Our new projections show that growth is going to be relatively slow, below 2 percent per year." The state, he says, should be able to handle the expected increases in energy demand. "And we do have some cushion in our growth forecasts."

Simon also says that Arizona and New Mexico utilities overestimated their future energy needs and built a surplus of power plants. "Now they don't need the power and they're trying to sell off parts of the plants," Simon says. "There are about 2,500 megawatts of spare plants sitting around, so if utilities in this state had to buy them, they're

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

available. Because other states were overeager to build power plants, we probably won't be left in a very bad situation at all. We've got a lot of options."

• **Immigration** — At the National Press Club, Johnson said he "absolutely disagrees" with Health and Welfare Secretary Mario Obledo, who has called for an open-border policy with Mexico. "He wants to open the gates," Johnson said.

Between Obledo's and Johnson's positions lies that of Alice Huffman, director of the state Office of Economic Opportunity. She believes there should be at least a partial open-border policy. "Other than the native Americans," she says, "we are a nation of immigrants. I think we should be very careful about making it an exclusive place. But I just can't say if it should be a wide-open process."

No one knows exactly how many illegal aliens are in the United States. High estimates range up to 12 million with a good proportion in California. But some officials believe the figure is much lower. "What is often overlooked," says Walter Hollmann, chief of population research at the Department of Finance, "is the fact that there is a reverse flow. This is a very mobile population; people leave as well as come in."

According to a Bureau of the Census study, there may be fewer than 6 million, possibly as few as 3.5 million, undocumented aliens in the United States. And Wayne A. Cornelius, director of the Program in United States-Mexican Studies at the University of California, San Diego, says his own estimates are even lower — between 1 million and 3 million. As for California, he believes that the state's population of illegal permanent-settler migrants from Mexico has been increasing by an estimated 60,000 to 65,000 per year.

Most Mexican immigrants enter the states and find work, not just in agriculture but increasingly in service industries in the cities. The accepted notion has been that illegal aliens fill a void in America's work place by taking the hard, low-paying jobs that Americans don't want. But that view has been challenged recently. Many officials now say that undocumented aliens are indeed taking jobs away from U.S. citizens and legal immigrants. Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall, for instance, told the *Los Angeles Times* last year that the United States could reduce its unemployment by more than one-third if it weren't for unauthorized aliens. "I am convinced we are sowing the seeds of a serious future civil-rights struggle," Marshall said. "We would be better off if we were to confront it now."

UC San Diego's Cornelius disagrees. He says California should recognize Mexican immigrants' contribution to the state's economy and should take steps to improve their living conditions. His studies suggest that the migrant flow from Mexico to the United States is nearly equaled by the return flow, because most Mexicans come here to work and do not want to settle permanently. Therefore, Cornelius says any federal policy to tighten the border may ironically turn the traditional floating population of Mexican migrants into a permanent U.S. population because of the greater risks in crossing the border illegally.

Cornelius says that Mexican immigrants are essential to the current functioning of California's economy. "The state and federal governments seem to have come to the realization that a reasonable and humane assistance program for Southeast Asia refugees settling in California is a prudent investment of human resources," he says. "The same logic applies to the undocumented settlers from Mexico, who vastly outnumber the Southeast Asian refugees, but who are truly the forgotten people in the ongoing debate over immigration policy."

• **Population trends** — Another California growth concern lies in the Sierra foothills, where counties have the highest growth rates in the entire state. Tuolumne County's population, for instance, is rising by 11 percent annually, almost four times the state average. Placer County's population is expected to increase over the next five years at a faster rate than any other California county over 100,000 population. One reason for Placer's high growth forecast is the developing electronics industry around Roseville. Some observers predict the Roseville region will become another Santa Clara Valley, a "Silicon Valley East." But much of the overall foothill growth comes from an urban exodus — people leaving traditional urban areas and urban jobs.

This rural migration affects sewer, fire, school, police and transportation services, and all other resources. As a result, the state Office of Planning and Research (OPR) is beginning work on a "Foothill Strategy." The year-long project consists of three parts: information on major development issues in the foothills; state policies on foothill development; and recommendations for administrative and legislative change. An advisory committee of foothill representatives is guiding the work.

"There's a really intriguing controversy about whether or not growth should occur in the foothills," says Dean Misczynski of OPR. "Some people say we ought to keep the foothills the way they are: rustic, rural, kind of slow — protected, in a sense. Others say the foothills are exactly where we want most of our urban growth to occur. Otherwise it takes place in the valleys on the prime agricultural land. I see no consensus right now on the issue."

• **Population limits** — One proposal by Johnson was that the state authorize a study to determine California's "carrying capacity." Once this limit is known, he added, public policies should be adjusted accordingly.

"Every state has a carrying capacity," the Sierra Club's Kunofsky says. "That's a law of nature — that, given any level of consumption, there's a certain number of people who can be sustained. Whether or not the state has reached it, I don't know. But there are many people who believe the country is already well beyond the population that can be sustained in the long run."

The Energy Commission's Gary Simon says his office has done a study that projects a state population of 50 million. "That gets pretty frightening," he says. "But, if we were sitting here in 1910 and were looking at a California population of 20 million, we would probably be just as frightened. Yet, here we are. I don't know that 50 million is all that hard to absorb. Japan has a surface area smaller than ours, and they've adapted. Of course, I would prefer California without so many people, but that's all conditioning, too."

The population-resources issue, Johnson admits, is not the sort of subject with which most politicians want to associate. "It really is an admission of limits to admit that there's a population problem," says Johnson. "The folks who have always believed we would grow forever, and who believed in the Statue of Liberty theory — that the acceptance of the world's masses could go on indefinitely — are threatened by that."

What is his plan? "We first need to open a dialogue on population and resource issues," Johnson says. "Second, we need to establish a reliable data base that will enable us to make sound decisions that will promote equity for all Californians."

The dialogue that Johnson urges is already occurring in some local governments, within many state agencies and among environmental groups. But in the upper echelons of state government, Johnson's message has been overshadowed by the artlessness and zeal he exhibited in raising the issue. The dialogue so far has centered, not on the larger subject of population growth and limited resources, but on the merits of Huey Johnson's employment. Meanwhile, the state's population continues to grow at a rate of 400,000 a year.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How California cities are curbing residential growth

CARL MUECKE

By MARY BARNETT

It's a safe bet that when Howard Jarvis started pushing Proposition 13, he never dreamed that he might be promoting the "small is beautiful" philosophy. But ironically enough, Jarvis has probably done more for growth control than all the environmental organizations in the state put together.

Since Proposition 13 was adopted in June 1978, 32 growth-control measures have been presented to voters in California counties and cities, and 19 of them have been adopted, according to a study by the state Office of Planning and Research (OPR). Growth control has won the support not only of conservationists but also of mainstream voters and taxpayers. From San Diego to Shasta County, from Redlands to Scott Valley, "bigger is better" is giving way to "small is beautiful."

Jan Barbaria, the OPR staff member who made the study, sees two reasons for the rash of growth-control measures following Proposition 13. One is the Jarvis-Gann demonstration that the people can make themselves heard loud and clear through the initiative process. The other is money. Even before Proposition 13, many city officials argued that residential growth did not pay its own way. After Jarvis-Gann, they didn't have to argue. Study after study has shown growth not only doesn't pay but creates a drain on services available to existing residents and taxpayers.

Mary Barnett is a free-lance writer in Santa Cruz County.

After Proposition 13, OPR conducted a telephone survey of about 100 California cities. Ten had completed post-Proposition 13 studies of the costs and benefits of new development: Sacramento, San Juan Capistrano, San Jose, Simi Valley, Fairfield, Corona, Visalia, Ventura, Los Angeles and Anaheim. OPR reported, "The overwhelming conclusion . . . is that new residential development does not pay its way in the post-Proposition 13 world." Three reasons were given:

- **Property taxes** used to average around 3 percent of a house's full market value. Now they are limited to 1 percent. Thus new development pays roughly two-thirds less in property taxes for the same services.
- **Home prices** and property taxes had been increasing faster than the inflation rate. Now property taxes can increase only 2 percent a year until property is sold. General inflation has no such limit.
- **Governments** with new development used to get all the new property taxes. Under the first year's bailout legislation, assessed-value growth was distributed proportionately countywide among all jurisdictions, even if just one jurisdiction provided all the necessary new services. (Under current law, growth revenue again goes to jurisdictions where the growth occurs.)

But the cost of new growth is only part of the growth-control impetus. Not only in picture-postcard cities like Santa Barbara and Santa Cruz but also in towns like Visalia, Modesto, Stockton and Madera, citizens are organizing to keep their cities as they are, Barbaria found. Campaign spending figures show how strong public support is for growth control. The initiatives that passed did so despite

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

being outspent by pro-growth advocates by an average of four to one. In one case, the ratio was 55 to 1.

Growth-control initiative and referendum measures attempt to manage growth in several ways:

- Some set growth-rate limits, as in Santa Barbara (0.9 percent) or in Santa Cruz (1.4 percent a year or the state average, whichever is higher.)
- Some limit the number of new dwellings, as in Belmont (56 a year) and Redlands (450 a year).
- Stockton and Modesto require a popular vote before expansion beyond present city limits.
- Tuolumne and Santa Cruz County measures set no growth rates, but instead direct the board of supervisors to prepare growth-management plans.
- Riverside's initiative sets minimum lot sizes, requiring larger lots on hillsides.
- Siskiyou County supervisors asked Scott Valley voters if they approved of a draft land use plan for their area prepared by a citizens' committee. They did.
- Marin County recently adopted an inclusionary zoning measure which requires developers to set aside 10 percent of their units for low- and moderate-income residents in developments of 15 units or more.
- Some ballot propositions in the past two years also have offered growth-control implications. Santa Barbara voters rejected funding for an aqueduct to connect the city to the state water system — a vote described by OPR as "growth control by thirst." Sacramento voters rejected a proposed sports stadium which threatened to stimulate development of adjacent farm land.

'Quick and dirty'

Not all growth-control programs are based on ballot measures; in fact, most aren't. Growth control can be part of the general planning process. In most of the 40-odd California cities and counties with growth-management programs, they were adopted by a city council or the board of supervisors. In the opinion of Steven R. Rikala, OPR planning assistance coordinator for local governments, that technique is the better way to go.

"The initiative is quick and dirty," he says. "Growth management has more validity if it is based on the general planning process."

Many growth-management techniques are available to local governments. Short-term population limits can be adopted, as in Livermore, Davis and Petaluma. Long-term or permanent population limits can be set, as in Santa Barbara, where population is limited to 90,000. Cities can set standards for availability of water, school, drainage and traffic services and deny non-conforming proposals, as in Livermore. Petaluma and Davis have adopted design quality standards for new development. San Diego has evolved a "growth accommodation strategy" which identifies where growth should take place and seeks to accommodate it. To avoid charges of driving out the poor, many communities set standards for including low- and moderate-income housing units in new developments.

Zoning regulations are the most orthodox method of implementing land-use policies. Large-lot zoning is one common growth-control technique. So is zoning to limit density of slope development. Alameda residents voted to prohibit any construction of multi-unit dwellings. Davis, by contrast, wants multi-unit housing and exempts them from the permit allocation process. Limiting land zoned for industry or commerce controls growth, but critics point out it can weaken the tax base and force residents to commute to work. Santa Clara County has adopted a zoning overlay technique to promote compact development. Under this plan, services are extended only where certain service standards are met.

But increasingly, communities frustrated by growth problems are turning to direct limitations on building permits. There are two basic methods. The most popular is the periodic competitive evaluation, better known as the "point system" or "contest." Builders try to outdo each other to see which of them can come up with the most goodies and win the coveted building permits. The other is the lottery system, used only in Santa Cruz County and South Lake Tahoe. Numbers are assigned to building permit applicants by lottery. Those with the lowest numbers get to build first. Contest adherents say that their system helps bring about all kinds of good things ranging from bicycle paths to solar heating. But Dave Laughlin, Santa Cruz County's chief of comprehensive planning, says point systems are complicated, hard to administer, and "more subjective" than drawing numbers out of a hat.

Competing for points

To get an idea how point systems work, let's take a look at how they operate in Petaluma, Davis and Redlands. The first two are veterans in California's relatively new growth-management game. The third is a newcomer.

The centerpiece of Petaluma's growth-management plan is the Residential Development Control System (RDCS) adopted in 1972. It limits building permits to 500 a year and distributes them between the east and west sides of town. (Before the RDCS, practically all new development was occurring east of U.S. Highway 101, which bisects Petaluma.) All development applications are screened by a 15-member board representing a cross-section of the community. Points are awarded for attractive and efficient site design, provision of community services, conformity with the city general plan, environmental design plan and zoning ordinance, and provision of low-income units. Top scorers are allotted all or part of the development quota for the area in which they wish to build until the quotas are used up. Developers have a year to file final plans, acquire permits and start construction. Developments of five units or less are exempted from the process.

About the same time Petalumans were getting fed up with growth, the same thing was happening in Davis, a town of 32,500 just west of Sacramento. Its citizens saw Davis, site of a University of California campus, changing from a university to a bedroom community, and they didn't like it. Other problems included loss of surrounding prime agricultural lands and strains on sewage and water facilities.

Seven years ago, Davis adopted a growth goal of 50,000 by

Frank Mesplé internship fund

The Frank Mesplé Internship Fund was created to help support students working for the *California Journal*. The interns observe state and local government and prepare articles for publication in the *Journal*.

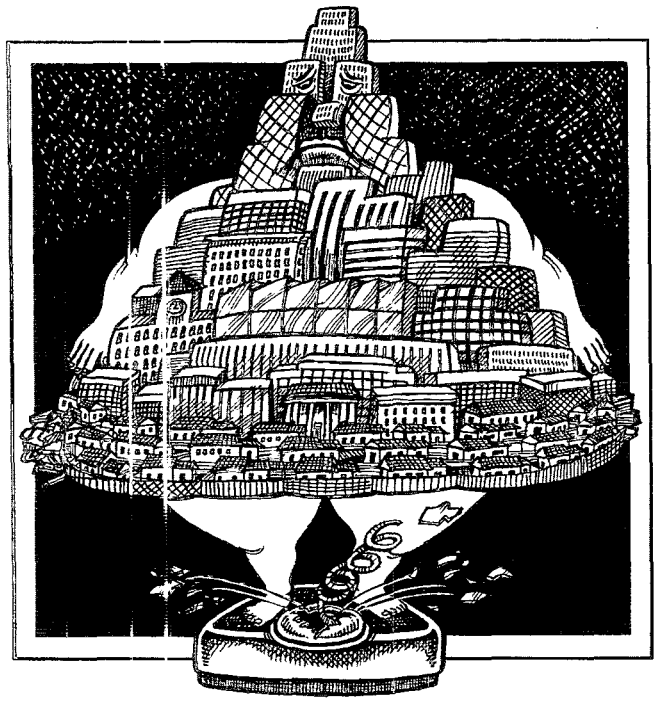
The fund was founded by the *Journal's* board of directors in memory of Frank Mesplé, who had served as a government professor, legislative advocate, gubernatorial aide and wit-about-Sacramento. The purpose of the fund is to carry on Mesplé's commitment to the youth of California and to the democratic process.

Recent contributors to the fund, whose support the *Journal* gratefully acknowledges, include:

Neil J. Barker
Anonymous ($1,000)

Contributions may be sent to the Frank Mesplé Internship Fund, *California Journal*, 1617 10th Street, Sacramento, CA 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



CARL MUECKE

1990. In 1975 it hammered out an implementing ordinance. Like Petaluma, Davis has a competitive project review and an annual limit on residential construction. But the Davis system works differently from Petaluma's in that a new housing goal is set each year. Every spring the Community Development Department does a "Residential Needs Report." It recommends the locations, quantity, costs, and types of housing needed in Davis to meet its general plan objectives. The Planning Commission and City Council review the report and come up with the number of new housing units needed. The goal is to provide housing for people who work and study in Davis. Commuters aren't wanted.

Builders interested in constructing the kind of housing the city wants are given a limited time to get their proposals into the Community Development Department. A Housing Review Board reviews the proposals and forwards a point rating for each plan to the city council, which makes the final selections. Rating criteria, in descending priority, are: how well the project meets Davis's internal growth needs, the economic mix, provision for low- and moderate-cost housing, environmental impact, availability of public services and facilities, evaluation of past performance, compactness, design diversity, economic impact and provision for small builder participation.

Tom Lumbrazo, Davis' growth-management man, says, "We try to quantify as much as possible, but we can't entirely. We may throw in other factors. For example, a developer might put in a new traffic tie-in for us. We'd sure consider that."

Voters in Redlands, an attractive city of about 38,000 persons east of Los Angeles, adopted the Redlands Growth Management Initiative in November 1978. It was proposed by a citizens' group called Friends of Redlands which was concerned about the city's 4 percent growth rate since 1977. The measure sets annual limits of 150 water and sewer hookups in the city's sphere of influence and 450 building permits in the city. The City Council was given 90 days to set up a point-rating system for developments based on design, service, availability of schools, agricultural preservation (44 percent of the city is covered with citrus orchards) and provision for low-income housing.

The council adopted an ordinance which provides for two allocations of building permits per year. It exempts developments of four or fewer units and low-income housing from the allocation process. Building permit applicants are rated on consistency with zone classification and standards, public services, environmental and aesthetic qualities, and low- and moderate-income housing. An interesting twist in the Redlands system is provision for penalty points. Builders can lose as many as 30 points, for example, for a negative impact on schools. The Planning Commission sets the point ratings for each project after a public hearing and recommends to the city council that the coveted permits go to top scorers. Usually, no project will get more than 50 units.

Unhappy builders

For obvious reasons, the building industry is leading the fight against the growth-management trend. The Construction Industry Association was so unhappy about the Petaluma plan that it carried an appeal to the United States Supreme Court, although without success. Builders don't like the idea of restricting or diverting growth and often complain about the bureaucratic procedures involved. They also cite two reports by business-oriented organizations which challenge the prevalent view that new housing no longer pays its way.

But nobody really expected the building industry to like growth management. More telling, perhaps, is the OPR suggestion that growth management may provide "a simplistic solution to complex problems" and have unintended adverse consequences. One such is increased housing costs. Most growth-control communities have anticipated this problem and seek to avoid it by giving priority to projects that provide low- and moderate-income housing.

Builders are especially unhappy about the growing number of inclusionary zoning laws which require them to sell a percentage of their units in new housing tracts below market rate to low- and moderate-income families. Such "coercion," they say, forces new home buyers to subsidize low-income housing. If such subsidies are socially desirable, the entire community should pay for them, not just the new-home buyers, according to the building industry.

Another problem is the "ripple" effect which growth-control laws sometimes have on surrounding areas. Critics say growth limits raise real-estate values and push low- and middle-income people into neighboring cities. A bill (AB 3252) to shift the burden of proof regarding the impact of such limits — from adjacent jurisdictions to the community proposing them — passed the Legislature last session, despite opposition from the League of California Cities.

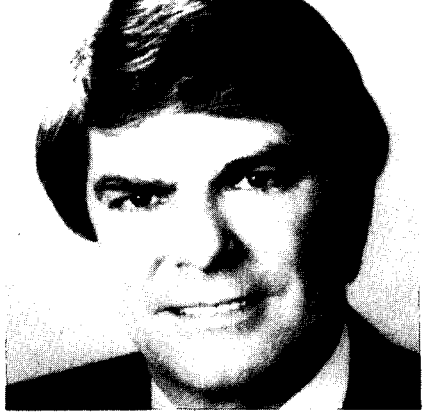
A University of California at Davis study of the Petaluma experience concluded growth management was working well there and was popular but had led to an increase in housing prices. Petaluma planning director Greg Freitas disagrees. "We've been quite successful in generating 'affordable' or moderate-cost housing," he says. "There's a lot to be had in the $70,000 range, and we have a whole subdivision for sale in the $60,000 range. And housing for low-income people has been exempted from the allotment process all along."

The real test of growth management, however, is public acceptance. Of this there doesn't seem to be much doubt. No community which has embarked on growth management has turned back. When the Petaluma City Council asked voters if they approved of its growth control program, 85 percent said "yes." In Davis, Lumbrazo says, "The people in this community want to stop growth pretty much altogether." No Davis council member interested in political survival would dream of attacking growth control. In Santa Cruz County, growth-control opponents couldn't even get enough signatures to put a growth-control repeal initiative on the ballot.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STRICTLY OPINION

With this column, the ***Journal*** *provides a forum for those wishing to express opinions on California political issues. Inquiries about future columns are encouraged.*



Freedom of the press

By Congressman JERRY LEWIS

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." **First Amendment, 1791**

Certainly the Founding Fathers must have understood that there would be a natural conflict between the First Amendment and the Sixth Amendment, which guarantees the right to a fair and speedy trial. Yet they chose not to place greater weight on one versus the other.

During the last decade there has been an alarming move on the part of our judiciary to place the weight on the Sixth Amendment side of the scale. Proposition 5 last June was designed to move back toward that balance in California by elevating the Newsmen's Shield Law to the state constitution.

In a year of vacillation on many fronts, 73 percent of Californians did not flinch at the opportunity to reaffirm explicitly the basic guarantees of the First Amendment. More than 4 million voters, recognizing the danger of an erosion of press freedoms, chose to pass Proposition 5. Why? Because they felt it necessary in light of a series of decisions by a judiciary which virtually ignored the Newsmen's Shield Law guaranteed only in a statute.

In California, there have been several clashes between journalists and the judiciary concerning the Newsmen's Shield Law. That law — enacted in 1935 — prohibits news reporters from being compelled to reveal confidential sources. But, in recent years, several judges have ignored the law, jailing six newsmen who kept their sources confidential. Judges ruled that when their constitutional rights to control proceedings in their own courts come into conflict with the statutory right of newsmen to refuse to reveal their sources, the latter must give way. The elevation of the California shield law to constitutional status is a clear signal to the judiciary that the confidentiality of sources is vital to the free flow of information. How can a newsman do the work that the community so prizes if forced to reveal sources and confidential notes?

Up until the last several years, we have tended to believe that no matter what the shifting ideological complexion of the Supreme Court, the First Amendment meaning would be preserved. But the court has specifically acted in the following cases to create a trend causing ample reason for alarm:

- **The Stanford case:** Police can now conduct unannounced searches of newsrooms across the country, despite the lack of evidence indicating any criminal actions on the part of those being searched.
- **The Herbert case:** Lawyers in a libel case can now inquire into a reporter's state of mind.
- **The Myron Farber case:** The court allowed a jail sentence for a reporter protecting confidentiality of sources.

How do others concerned about the erosion of the press view these cases and the impact of Proposition 5? Jeff Wall, attorney for the Fresno Four, says: "In my opinion, it is absolutely clear that if the shield law had been part of the state constitution, rather than part of the Evidence Code, neither William Farr nor the *Fresno Bee* Four would have spent any time in jail."

In his letter of support for Proposition 5, Walter Cronkite pointed out: "A newsman in almost all cases is able to reveal perfidy, malfeasance and misfeasance, corruption and venality on the part of public officials only with the help of an honest employee privy to the secrets within. If such sources cannot be guaranteed confidentiality, clearly they cannot be cooperative, and the more corrupt the regime the greater the danger to them of exposure."

By incorporating Proposition 5 into the state constitution, California law now goes a step further in its protection of news reporters than federal law. In *Branzburg vs. Hayes* (1972), the United States Supreme Court refused to include the confidential-source protection in the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of press. As a result, there is some speculation that the court may strike down the constitutionality of Proposition 5 should it come before the panel in a test case.

The court's own words, however, lead me to believe just the opposite: "There's also merit in leaving state legislatures free, within First Amendment limits, to fashion their own standards in light of the conditions and problems with respect to the relation between law enforcement officials and the press in their own areas. It goes without saying, of course, that *we are powerless to bar state courts from responding in their own way and construing their own constitutions* so as to recognize a newman's privilege, either qualified or absolute." (Emphasis added.)

In addition, the court refused to rule out a federal newsmen's shield law, saying Congress has the freedom to adopt such legislation.

As recently as June 9th, the United States Supreme Court gave individual states the green light to enact their own far-reaching measures. In *Pruneyard Shopping Center v. Robins*, the court said a state has a "sovereign right to adopt in its own constitution individual liberties more expansive than those conferred by the federal Constitution."

Who among us can disagree with Thomas Jefferson, who said: "The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

Of course, Jefferson could not have envisioned the proliferation of communication ranging from newspapers to magazines, books, radio and television which virtually brings the world into our homes every day. But he certainly realized that the unimpeded flow of information is crucial to the freedom of the people and the perpetuation of our democracy. If the essential ingredient of confidentiality in news-gathering is tampered with, the real losers will be the American people whose right to know will be severly limited.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

By Leo Rennert

The new Congress

As Ronald Reagan prepares to enter the White House, 45 other Californians are scrambling to gain more legislative clout on Capitol Hill. The state's big congressional delegation has lost several top veterans and will gain seven new faces in January. Battles are raging to protect old turf and to establish new beachheads. Republican victories in last month's elections are creating new alignments. Out of public sight, skirmishes already are under way for the spoils of 1982.

IN THE SENATE, these are the best and worst of times for Democrat Alan Cranston. While California voters gave him a smashing re-election victory, GOP control of the new Senate yanked away some of his most important positions of power. Cranston no longer will hold the No. 2 leadership post of the majority party; now he will be only minority whip. He will lose the chairmanship of the Veterans Affairs Committee and two subcommittees. Instead of being in the thick of setting legislative priorities, he'll have to maneuver on the periphery and cultivate the new high-flying Republicans.

In the meantime, California's junior senator, Republican S. I. Hayakawa, is exulting over his party's surge to power. After operating in Cranston's shadow for four years, Hayakawa now wants to be Mr. California on Capitol Hill. As a high-ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations and Agriculture committees, he's in line for subcommittee chairmanships on both panels. He expects solid political and legislative backing from the Reagan White House. He's dusting off bills buried by Democrats in past Congresses, including a lower minimum wage for teen-agers and legalized importation of Mexican workers. He's talking about dismantling Redwood National Park and turning 60 percent of it back to private loggers, and he promptly signaled would-be GOP challengers in 1982 that he has no intention of retiring.

Relations between California's senators have sunk to a new low. Hayakawa missed no opportunity to stick partisan daggers in Cranston's back during the last two years. Now it's going to be the other way around. At his first post-election news conference on Capitol Hill, Cranston sized up Hayakawa as a lame-duck who will not be renominated by his party. Cranston is betting that, even from the minority side of the aisle, he can outgun Hayakawa. As a veteran practitioner of bipartisan politics, Cranston is working closely with influential Republican supporters in California to gain a toehold in the Reagan White House.

On the other side of Capitol Hill, Republicans have scored a net gain of three seats in the California delegation. Democrats are left with only a razor-thin 22-21 margin of control. More significantly, the balance of power in the delegation continues to shift dramatically toward younger members. San Diego's Bob Wilson, a 28-year veteran who headed the GOP contingent, is retiring. Republican victories at the polls ended 22 years of service in the House for Democratic Chairman Harold T. (Bizz) Johnson of Roseville. GOP challengers also knocked off 20-year veteran Jim Corman of Van Nuys and Lionel Van Deerlin of San Diego, who had 18 years of seniority. Members elected since Watergate will comprise a majority in the new Democratic lineup; most California Republicans in the 97th Congress will have served one term or less.

Ironically, there is scant evidence that the young Turks have the ability — or the will — to bowl over the old order and use their growing numbers to seize effective control of the delegation. Republicans chose as chairman the new senior member in their ranks: Don Clausen of Crescent City. After a few days of heady talk about a free-for-all election, reformers in the Democratic delegation folded their tent and appeared ready to ratify the expected selection of one of their seniors, Don Edwards of San Jose.

There has been much talk since the election of the need to turn the delegation into an effective tool to protect California interests. Operating with little cohesion or effective leadership, Californians were sitting ducks in the last Congress as lawmakers from the Northeast and Midwest grabbed off an increasingly bigger slice of the federal budget for their regions. Some California Democrats are pushing for more political solidarity in their reduced ranks. Joint fund-raising efforts are being discussed to avoid further losses in 1982. The Republican delegation, which played an impotent role in the disastrous selection of Paul Gann as Cranston's challenger, also has some regrouping to do. California Republicans may have done well in some individual contests last month. But there are no signs that a stronger party is emerging from these scattered triumphs.

INDIVIDUAL AMBITIONS STILL RULE over collective action. While the delegation sputters along, its most influential member, Democrat Phillip Burton of San Francisco is looking for new conquests in the House but finding the going tough with conservatives on the march. Norman Mineta of San Jose has a chance to move up in the Democratic leadership. Merced's Tony Coelho also hopes to push his way up and replace Corman as chairman of the House Democratic Campaign Committee. John Rousselot of San Marino is bidding for a GOP leadership slot.

Beyond all this individual jockeying, there's one serious agenda item that has captured the collective interest of the entire delegation — congressional reapportionment for the 1982 elections. Publicly, there may be a lot of talk about pulling together for the greater good of California; privately, the first priority is to formulate plans for new district boundaries that will give the greatest protection to the greatest number of incumbents. As the French say, "Plus ça change . . ."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California's future makes a great present

Let the *California Journal*
solve those December gift problems with magazines and books
that entertain and inform

This is the time of year when there are so many gifts to buy and so little time and energy to do the job right. May we suggest a few solutions from the *California Journal?*

1 Solution number one: gift subscriptions to the **California Journal.** There is still time to order subscriptions at $15 each. We'll make sure that the recipients get specially prepared cards before Christmas. The first issue will arrive during the holiday season, and you will be remembered each month when the magazine arrives. The **Journal** is an ideal gift for anyone even mildly interested in government and politics.

Special bargain offer

Send gift subscriptions of the **California Journal** to four or more of your friends and relatives, and we'll give you a special bulk-purchase discount. Here's how it works: You will be billed the regular introductory rate of $15 for each of the first three subscriptions. Thereafter, each gift subscription will cost only $10. If you order 10 subscriptions, you will pay only $115 — a $35 saving from the introductory rate.

2 Solution number two: copies of **The Cartoon History of California Politics.** This handsome paperbound book, eight inches by eight inches, contains 119 cartoons spanning California political history from the Gold Rush to the New Spirit. Written by Ed Salzman and Ann Leigh Brown, this book will be welcomed for coffee table browsing or for desk study. This giftbook is available to **Journal** readers at a special price: $5.25, including tax.

Send your check, money order or credit-card number (Visa or MasterCard only) for books and subscriptions to

California Journal
1617 10th St.
Sacramento, CA 95814

3 Solution number three: Copies of the **Atlas of California,** a handsome, four-color hardback book containing 191 oversized (12″ x 14″) pages of colorful and fascinating information on the nation's largest and most diverse state. This new Atlas provides information on demographics, California history, business, voting, legislative districts, natural resources, flora and fauna, national origin, sports, federal spending and much, much more. We have made a special purchase and can pass our savings on to you in a special holiday gift discount of more than 20 percent from the publisher's list price of $47.50. The California Journal Press price is $37.50 (plus tax, for a total of $39.75). We are so sure you will be delighted with this Atlas that we are making this guarantee: If you are not satisfied with the Atlas for any reason we will cheerfully refund your purchase price if the book is returned to us in mint condition. All orders must be pre-paid so that the discount price can be offered.

The fame of great men ought always to be estimated by the means they used to acquire it.

— Francois de la Rochefoucauld

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED